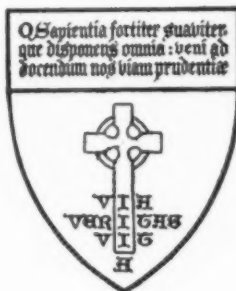


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Anglican Theological Review



EDITED BY

FREDERICK C. GRANT and BURTON S. EASTON

Founded by SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

VOLUME XIII

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THE LORD'S SUPPER AND ITS CELEBRATION ACCORDING TO EVANGELICAL PRINCIPLES

By RUDOLF OTTO, University of Marburg

In a volume of *Religious Essays*, soon to be published by the Oxford University Press, I have tried to make clear the original meaning of the Lord's Supper. At his last meal with his disciples, Christ used and celebrated an old Jewish table rite of deep significance,¹ giving to it at the same time a new content by identifying the act of breaking the bread (and the outpouring of the wine) with the coming event of his death. Thus, according to his will, word, and institution the redeeming and atoning event of Golgotha is 'really present' whenever his congregation meets in celebrating this incomparable rite.

In the historical development the celebration of this rite was combined with a form of ordinary service, the *Missa Catechumenorum*, which was closely modelled on the tradition of worship in the synagogue. Though it was called 'missa catechumenorum,' it was not meant only for the catechumens but for the whole congregation. After the Reformation this part was more strongly emphasized than in the earlier Catholic period. According to my opinion, the two parts should be kept distinct; both will gain in

¹ This old rite is, in a developed form, kept by the Jews up to our time in the ritual of the *Qiddush*, observed by Jewish families on the eve of Sabbath. Anyone reading the *Qiddush* will see the striking resemblance of this old Jewish Eucharist to our Christian Eucharist. The *Qiddush* as the groundwork of the Christian Eucharist is still quite obvious in the *formula missae* in the ancient *Didachê tôn Dôdeka Apostolôn*.

importance and efficiency, if kept separate. The 'chief service' of Sunday morning ought to be developed upon the groundwork of the 'missa catechumenorum' which requires a deeper and richer liturgical formulation of its own. Of such a richer development of the ordinary service I have given an example in the above mentioned book. Here I will undertake the same for the Communion Service. The underlying principles are as follows:

1. The eucharistic rite is a thoroughly *congregational* one, not a spectacle performed by one person, or a few, for others to observe.

2. The rite, even in its oldest Jewish form in which Christ found and undoubtedly approved it, was a sacramental meal, and signified the uniting and combining of the 'many' partakers (*chabirim*) into a sacred spiritual union (*cheber*). This idea is understood and retained by St. Paul in I Cor. x. 17.² For Christians this means of course the union in the 'body of Christ,' which however in this sense is not the 'Eucharistic Body' but the 'mystical body,' the mystical union by the Spirit, manifested in fraternal love and in the mutual unity of life, will, and work. The symbol of it was the *aspasmos*, or *philema*, the fraternal kiss of the partakers, which was not a mere adorning accessory but a very significant part of the celebration.

3. The rite, and especially the cup, as it is seen in the original record of Luke and also of Matthew as well as Mark, included an anticipation of the eternal meal in God's Kingdom. This was not the whole but a very important feature of its original meaning. It is therefore indeed an 'eschatological' rite, *i.e.* it intends to convey an anticipating experience of things transcendent, which await us 'in the eternal fulfilment.' And this feature ought not to be omitted in the celebration.

4. The breaking of the bread 'is' the breaking of Christ's body, which was the sacrifice of the New Covenant. Christ identifies in his Eucharist not two *substances* but two *events*. The *event* of Golgotha with its mystery, with its terror and its bliss.

² "Seeing that there is *one* bread, we, who are many, are one body; for we all partake of the *one* bread." (R.V. mg.) This might have been said already of the old Jewish sacramental table-rite.

is present in this event of 'breaking the bread.' And with it God himself is present, the eternal Master of the Feast (table-lord) and donor of this meal and founder of this New Covenant. According to the genuine antique idea of *Koinônia* through a sacramental meal, the communion is a communion with the donor and the Lord of the meal himself; and as a consequence it is also a mutual communion of the partakers.³

It appears to me that these 'antique' and perhaps 'primitive' conceptions are not mere ideas, but realities, which anyone experiences who approaches the Lord's table without dogmatic or exegetical presuppositions. At the same time they seem to me to be very much obliterated by the dogmatic speculations which afterwards clustered about this rite of an indeed 'primitive' but very living 'Messianic conventicle.'

5. Every celebration of the Lord's Supper is a 'Service of Communion' of God's Church *universal*, represented by a *special* part of it. To the Church Universal belong not only its members on earth and in time but also the departed; and the 'communion' as the communion with the Lord is at the same time a mutual communion of all members of his people on earth and in heaven. So it was a mistake of Protestantism to leave out of the celebration of the Lord's Supper the 'commemoration' of the dead. It must have a place in the celebration, certainly not as a *sacrificium pro mortuis* but as the realization of the unity of *all* members of Christ, which death cannot sever. For this reason it would be a fine custom if those who have lost some one dear to them were to go on the next Sunday to the Lord's Table, there to realize their abiding communion with their departed. The congregation likewise should commemorate by name those of its members who have passed away since the last Communion Service.

6. In attempting a sketch of an appropriate celebration of our rite we must avoid too close a resemblance to the ordinary service. The forms of the 'missa catechumenorum' should not be

³ Cf. I Jn. i. 6-7: communion with God . . . communion with each other. This idea is the genuine basis of a Christian 'Communion Service.'

repeated, nor should this in turn be only an introduction to the former. On the other hand, the Communion Service ought to retain some of the impressive forms of the *Missa Fidelium*, which in the responses quite obviously reveals its originally 'congregational' character, and which can easily be brought back to a congregational use—especially when one or two of the 'elders' or other worthy members of the congregation are commissioned to help in the distribution of the 'elements.'

7. Christ's Eucharist was a *meal*, and the form and accompaniments of its celebration ought to remind us of this fact. The 'altar' must be and must remind us of a 'table.' Further it was a 'supper'; therefore the right time for it is not morning but evening, as was the custom in apostolic days. It was a supper, and on a supper-table belong candles. In its original form, in the Jewish Qiddush, the 'Sabbath candles' were in use, and are in use to this very day. Christ undoubtedly had a candle upon his table.

8. I do not believe in much music for the ordinary service. But a ritual celebration like this may well be accompanied by some simple and severe choral songs and soli, which will give occasion for quiet and meditation—provided they are kept subservient to the meaning of the whole service and do not develop into an æsthetic performance or a musical concert.

The asterisks inserted in the following signify responses of the congregation, to be said or chanted according to custom. The Psalms and Canticles are taken from my *Chorgebete*.⁴ They are meant to be *de tempore*, and are to be changed according to time and occasion.

⁴ *Responsive Prayers*, which we use in our Chapel of St. Jost in Marburg. Pub. Giessen: Töpelmann, 1928.

A FORM FOR CELEBRATING THE LORD'S SUPPER

On the table is a simple cross, with three candles right and left ('Office Lights'). Two candles are lighted. On a small credence at the left is a basin for the offering of the congregation, and the bread and wine, veiled.

I. CONFESSION

Organ prelude [and congregational hymn, permissive].

1. *The INTROIT, sung as an anthem or in responses.*

Like as the hart desireth the water-brooks,

* So longeth my soul after thee, O God.

My soul is athirst for God, even for the living God.

* When shall I come and appear before God?

Send out thy light and thy truth, that they may lead me,
even unto thy dwelling.

* That I may go unto the altar of God, even the
God of my joy and gladness. Amen.

Or some other psalm or anthem may be used.

Let us pray.

O Lord our God, before whom a thousand years are as one day, and the day that is past is even as this day; we beseech thee that thou wouldest make known unto us thy works of old. Lead us, with the disciples, into the Upper Room, there to sit with thee at thy table and with thee to keep the Feast of thy eternal Covenant. Show us Christ, our High Priest and our Sacrifice, that our eyes may behold him, that our ears may hear him, that our hearts may welcome him. And grant that what we behold may become in us light and life in his name. Amen.

Or some other formal or extemporaneous prayer.

2. *The GOSPEL of the Day or some other SCRIPTURE LESSON from the Lectionary, or a free text, followed by*

A short SERMON or an allocution, from the reading-desk, leading to

3. *Self-Examination and CONFESSION OF SINS, with the following or some other exhortation:*

Dearly beloved in the Lord, he that will come to the Lord's Table must examine himself before he eat of the Bread and drink of the Cup (I Cor. ii. 28). Hear therefore what the Lord saith: 'Ye shall be holy, for I am holy. And ye shall be to me a priestly kingdom ['royal priesthood'] and a holy people.'

* O holy Lord God, holy and mighty God, holy and merciful Savior, thou eternal God,⁵ have mercy upon us.

The Lord our God is one God; and thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength.

* Lord, whither shall I flee from thy face? Out of the deep, O Lord, do I cry unto thee.

The second commandment is like unto it: Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.

* Lord, grant us that love which is thy very self.

Whosoever soweth unto his flesh, the same shall reap corruption from the flesh.

* O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death?

But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, meekness, self-control.

* But we are all unclean and our righteousness is like a garment defiled.

The righteousness which pleaseth God cometh from faith unto faith; so examine yourselves if ye be in faith.

* Lord, I believe; help thou mine unbelief. Amen.

SILENCE, followed by a fixed or spontaneous form of ABSOLUTION.

A soft organ Postlude.

II. PROSKOMIDIA AND PHILEMA

1. *A congregational hymn:*

'Behold, thy king shall come to thee!'
My soul, what joyful words to ponder!
Say—'My king cometh unto me!'

⁵ The Trishagion in Luther's rendering. This and the following responses of the congregation can be omitted and short pauses for self-examination may be inserted instead.

I'll ope' the gates with joy and wonder.
 Come, with thy love, into this heart of mine;
 All, all thou findest there, is thine!

During the singing of the hymn, the Minister and Assistants (two elders of the congregation) go to the credence, take bread and wine and place them on the altar.

The Lord be with you.

* And with thy spirit.

Let us pray.

O Lord, Creator and Sustainer of thy children upon earth; behold, these gifts, which thou hast given for the nourishment and renewal of our bodies, we now offer unto thee, that thou mayest make them to be the sacred meal of thy Covenant. As the grains of wheat were scattered upon the earth, and are now one in this bread,⁶ so unite us and all thy children in hearty forgiveness, in brotherly love, and in living communion as the members of one body. *Amen.*

To the congregation:

We being many are one body. For we are all partakers of that one bread (I Cor. x. 17). Greet one another with the holy kiss (Rom. xvi. 16).

Minister and Assistants each lay a hand on the other's shoulder, bow, and say:

Peace be with thee.

* And with thee be peace.

Beginning with the right, the communicants extend their hands and bow to one another.

2. *Congregational hymn:*

Heart with heart in one united
 Seek for peace in God's own heart;
 Let the flames of love burn stronger
 At the Savior's touch they start.
 He the Head, and we his members,
 He the light from which we shine;
 He the Master, we the brethren;—
 Thou art ours, and we are thine!

⁶ From the *Didachê*.

Or some other appropriate short hymn.

3. *Intercessions:*

Minister and congregation, responsively:

O Lord, our God, we beseech thee to guide and govern thy holy Christian Church.

* Increase it and make it one in faith and love.

Sustain all its servants, watchmen, and shepherds in wholesome doctrine and in holy love.

* Let thy word go forth to all peoples and bring them to the knowledge of thee.

Protect our folk and fatherland and make their lamp to shine.

* Let righteousness and self-discipline be their glory, sincerity and truth their crown.

Bless all the nations upon earth and unite them in zeal for truth and righteousness.

* Bless all true labor and make us glad in our daily toil.

Remember, O Lord, in mercy our brethren N.N., whom thou hast called to thyself before thy throne.⁷

* Lift up thy countenance upon them and be gracious unto them.

Remember, O Lord, our sisters N.N., who have returned to their heavenly home.

* May they rest in peace, and may light perpetual shine upon them.

Remember, O Lord, the souls of our children N.N., whom thou hast so soon bid return unto thee.

* Grant them in thy light to see light and comfort them that mourn their loss. Amen.

III. EUCHARIST AND ANAMNESIS

1. *The GRADUAL, when there is a choir.*

Make me a clean heart, O God,
And renew a right spirit within me.
Cast me not away from thy presence,
And take not thy Holy Spirit from me.

⁷ Commemoration by name of those who have departed since the last celebration.

*Or some other short anthem. If there is no choir, a short organ voluntary
The remaining candles are now lighted.*

2. PREFACE, SANCTUS, OUR FATHER.

The Lord be with you.

* And with thy spirit.

Lift up your hearts.

* We lift them up unto the Lord.

Let us give thanks to our Lord God.

* It is meet and right so to do.

Meet and right, just and wholesome, is it that we should at all times and in all places give thanks unto thee, O holy Lord, almighty Father, eternal God, through Christ our Lord. For thou hast established the everlasting Covenant, binding Heaven and Earth in one, for time and for eternity, in the most holy sacrifice of life and love of thine own Son; wherefore the angels adore thy Majesty, the mighty ones praise thee with harmonious voice, the heavens and all the powers therein glorify thee, the saints and the blessed about thy throne. Let our voices likewise be heard before thee, praising thee and saying:

Choir or congregation sing:

Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth.

All the earth is full of thy glory.

Hosanna in the highest.

Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.

Hosanna in the highest. Amen.

Minister:

Taught by Christ's word and command, O Lord, we make bold to pray unto thee:

Our Father who art in Heaven, Hallowed be thy Name. Thy Kingdom come, thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven. Give us this day our daily bread, and forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation. . . .

* But deliver us from evil. Amen.

3. *The ANAMNESIS.*

*The minister unveils the bread and wine.
To the congregation he says:*

As oft as ye eat of this bread and drink of this cup, ye proclaim the Lord's death till he come (I Cor. xi. 26).

*Whereupon minister and congregation chant in common the WORDS OF INSTITUTION:*⁸

Our Lord Jesus Christ,
In the night in which he was betrayed,

(Here the Minister takes one of the wafers.)

Took the bread, and brake it,

(Here the Minister breaks the wafer.)

And gave it to his disciples and said:
Take and eat,
This is my Body, which is given for you.
Do this in remembrance of me.

(Here the Minister takes the cup.)

Likewise after supper he took the cup,
Offered thanks, gave it to them, and said:
This Cup is the New Testament in my blood,
Which is shed for the remission of sins.
Do this in remembrance of me.

The Minister sets down the cup. All kneel down. The minister says the EPICLESIS.

O eternal Lord God, who art unapproachable by any creature in thine endless majesty, unattainable by sinful hearts in thine everlasting holiness; rend the heavens and come down, and thyself distribute at thy holy table the Bread of Life and the Cup

⁸ For the music of the common chanting of the *Verba Institutionis* see R. Otto, *Zur Erneuerung des Gottesdienstes*, Giessen, 1927.

of Salvation, the pledges of eternal redemption in the sacrifice of thy Son. Amen.

Silence. Private adoration.

The sanctus bell strikes thrice three strokes. All rise again.

IV. COMMUNION

Minister:

The holy to the holy. Come, for all things are ready.

Words of DISTRIBUTION, at the bread:

Christ hath died for us, that we might live with him. (I Thess. v. 10.)

At the wine:

I will drink it new with you in my Father's Kingdom. (Matt. xxvi. 29.)

During the distribution the choir sings the AGNUS:

O Christ, thou Lamb of God, who takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us. . . . Grant us thy peace. Amen.

Communion Hymn, sung as a solo or by the congregation during the Communion:

Now on Calvary's hill 'tis finished,
Now the Covenant binds in one
God and man, once and forever,
Through the Offering of the Son.

Whoso cometh at his calling,
Whoso heedeth, soon or late,
Is safe for ever in his keeping,
Through the Covenant dedicate!

Prince and Captain, mighty Leader,
For thine own now spread the feast;
Bless us, with thy holy presence,
Freed from sin, from death released.

Till we join the host of heaven,
Till we keep thy feast anew
In thy courts above, be with us,
To thy promise ever true! Amen.

V. POST COMMUNION

The choir sings as an anthem, or the Assistant and congregation say responsively:

Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word;

* For mine eyes have seen thy salvation.

Praise the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me praise his holy name.

* Praise the Lord, O my soul, and forget not all his benefits.

Minister:

The Lord be with you.

* And with thy spirit.

Let us pray.

Heavenly Father, who in this holy meal givest us communion with thy Son, suffering and dying for us; grant us to die with Christ, that we may live with him in thee, now and for evermore.

* Amen.

Depart in peace. The Lord bless you and keep you. The Lord make his face to shine upon you and be gracious unto you. The Lord lift up his countenance upon you and give you peace.

Concluding hymn:

Lord, from afar thy glorious throne I see,
Thither to thee ascends my longing heart;
Within thy golden gates I fain would be,
Ne'er shall the vision from mine eyes depart! Amen.

Organ Postlude.

Note by the Editor

The widespread interest in the modern 'Liturgical Movement' in Germany (see A.T.R. xii. 4, April 1930), on the part of American and other English-speaking churchmen, makes it an added satisfaction to be permitted to publish Dr. Otto's essay in these pages. The volume of Theological Essays to which he refers, soon to be published by the Oxford University Press, will contain the present paper.

Professor Otto's works in the field of theology, and in the history, philosophy, and psychology of religion, are already world-famous. Not so much is known, outside Germany, of his labors for liturgical reform and enrichment, for the vitalizing and deepening of public worship. The quality of his work, and its standards, are sufficiently seen from the present essay. Novel as some of his proposals will seem to most Anglicans of the present day, many of them would not have seemed so strange to earlier generations of Christians—least of all in the ancient classic age of liturgical development and in the period immediately preceding. Nor would they have seemed strange to the writers and translators of our received Anglican liturgy, to Cranmer and the great English liturgists of the 16th and 17th centuries, who were equally familiar with the vast liturgical tradition of Western Catholic Christendom and with the German and Swiss experiments of the time. Line after line of his present 'sketch' of an Evangelical Liturgy contains echoes of the phraseology and conceptions of the Catholic tradition; at the same time the ideas and practices and the language of the primitive Church come repeatedly to clear expression.

The value of all this to Christians of every communion who are seeking for a richer expression of religious faith and love in the great service of union and communion, 'the Lord's own service,' in these days of transition and experiment, is obvious at once. Without ceasing to be 'evangelical,' without abandoning his inherited Lutheran outlook, he is nevertheless reaching forward earnestly to a type of fellowship and common worship in

which all may share who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity and truth. May not we Anglicans learn something from this?

It appears to be incumbent upon a translator, without offering further apology, to render Dr. Otto's language, wherever possible, in words already hallowed by centuries of religious use throughout the English-speaking world—a duty which the author's own excellent English version of some parts of the 'sketch' made clear in advance. It is a fascinating study to trace the development through minute shadings of phrase and idea of the old traditional language of Primitive and Western Christianity—the common mother alike of modern Protestantism and of present-day Catholicism—through Lutheran and Reformed (German) devotional liturgical literature, on one hand, and through the Anglican, Puritan, and modern English and American Protestant formularies, on the other. One thing seems certain: they are not nearly so diverse as is often represented. For example, the language in which the Present Christ is approached at his altar-table, in Dr. Otto's 'sketch,' clearly approximates that which many Evangelical Anglicans are accustomed to use.

The first two hymns (very short ones, be it noted) are by Zinzendorf; the last is by Joh. Tim. Hermes. Two of these may already have been translated; but if so, the translations were not accessible. I have done my best to give fair renderings, not too unmusical for the present purpose. The third hymn is by Dr. Otto himself, and has not been translated hitherto. I must apologize for altering the form, if not the metre; but I am no poet nor son of a poet. I have tried to translate the *ideas*, and something of the feeling, of this beautiful hymn. And by way of compensation let me give herewith the originals of all four.

F. C. G.

Sieh, dein König kommt zu dir. Seele, das sind frohe Worte.
Sprich: Mein König kommt zu mir, sieh, ich öffne ihm die Pforte.
Zieh mit deiner Liebe ein. Was du findest, das ist dein.

—Zinzendorf.

Herz mit Herz vereint zusammen sucht in Gottes Herzen Ruh,
Lasset eure Liebesflammen lodern auf den Heiland zu.
Er das Haupt, wir seine Glieder; er das Licht und wir der Schein;
Er der Meister, wir die Brüder. Er ist unser, wir sind sein.

—Zinzendorf.

Auf Golgatha ist fest gegründet
Der Bund, der uns mit Gott verbündet.
Er reicht durch Zeit und Ewigkeit.
Und wer zu solchem ward erkoren,
Der bleibt uns ewig unverloren,
Die wir zu gleichem Bund geweiht.

O Bundesfürst, mit deinen Scharen
Lass deine Nahe uns gewahren,
Und halte selbst mit uns das Mahl.
Bis mit der oberen Gemeinde
Wir neu es halten im Vereine
In deinem ewigen Himmelssaal. Amen.

—R. Otto.

Ich hab von ferne, Herr, deinen Thron erblickt,
Und hatte gerne mein Herz voraus geschickt,
Und will die hellen goldenen Gassen
Lebenslang nicht aus den Augen lassen. Amen.

—Joh. Tim. Hermes.

OUT OF LIMBO

By MARGARET MUNSTERBERG, Boston Public Library

In honor of the two thousandth anniversary of Virgil's birth in October 1930, the Vatican Library has issued a beautiful facsimile edition of a precious manuscript which is described thus:

Codex Virgilianus, qui Augustus appellatur, membranis scriptus, octo tantum foliis constat, quorum quattuor Romae in bibliotheca Vaticana servantur. . . .

No more graceful memorial could have been offered on the occasion of this birthday celebrated throughout the book-loving western world. In the first place, a jewel, even in replica, from the treasure-house of the Vatican Library reminds one that the Pope himself in former years held the office of librarian; in the second place it emphasises the bibliographical interest in Virgil codexes and incunabula. But there is a third significance in the gift of the above mentioned facsimile, and that is the fact that the memorial to the most popular poet of pagan antiquity comes—from the Vatican.

It is not our purpose here to probe the reasons for a fame that has extended through nearly two millenniums, nor is there any intention of analysing Virgil's works or of extolling their intrinsic, that is their æsthetic and human value. Whether, with Professor Erskine, we think of Virgil as "the modern poet" or whether, tainted by memories of laborious school exercises, we relegate the Mantuan to a world outlived and cold, we must look for a rekindling of that ancient flame to the classical scholars and the historians of antiquity. The present writer, making no claims to belong to their ranks, wishes merely to ask the humble question: what interest has a Catholic or, for that matter, any Christian as such, in the poet of Pagan Rome? And the answer is given by history itself. The part that Virgil has played in the thought of early Christianity and of the Middle Ages is a

curious phenomenon, and the vicissitudes of his continuous influence are a reflection of the changing spiritual worlds in which he was received. As these strange interactions have been the subject of scholarship—and not without controversies—down to our own day, it may be worth while to glance briefly over some of their characteristics.

One might as well begin with the climax, and everyone knows what that was: Virgil's emergence out of Limbo to serve as guide to Dante through the Inferno and Purgatory to the Earthly Paradise. The Limbo in Dante's epic, it will be remembered, is the vestibule of the lower world where the virtuous Pagans who are neither blessed nor damned, dwell in that condition which has its counterpart in so many human lives—the state of "desire without hope." Here Dante found the great poets of antiquity who have such honor "that they seemed set apart from the other inhabitants of Limbo": Homer, Horace, Ovid and Lucan, who bow to their Florentine colleague as he passes them, so that Virgil smiles with pleasure at the compliment. But it was not here that Dante first came upon the author of the *Æneid* who had already left his eternal residence to meet the poet lost in the wilderness. In limping prose the beautiful lines of Dante's greeting to Virgil are thus: "Oh, of all other poets honor and light, I value the long study and great love that has made me seek your volume. You are my master and my author. You are the one from whom I took the beautiful style that has given me honor." And it was no one less than Beatrice, the blessed, the symbol of divine revelation, who had sent his master-poet to Dante's rescue. "I am Beatrice who makes you go," she had spoken to Virgil; "I come from the place whither turns all desire; love moves me and makes me speak. When I shall be before my Lord, I will often tell your praises."

The admiration of the greatest poet of one age for the greatest poet of another, and both of Italy, is of course, explanation enough for Virgil's appearance as guide through the world of suffering and expiating souls. But it was not wholly a matter of taste. Virgil had become something of a symbol in the

mediæval imagination; he was the centre of contact between the ancient thought-world and its successor not only for the poet, but for a host of grammarians, historians and scholastic commentators. As it happens, we need not go beyond Dante to find Virgil quoted as authority in a philosophical dissertation. In the *Convito* (The Banquet), it will be found that Dante has referred to Virgil six times, the sixth and last reference being a lengthy moral interpretation of the *Æneid*.

Such references were merely symptomatic of the age. Among the works on Virgil's influence on the Middle Ages, there is an Italian classic, *Virgilio nel Medio Evo* (Virgil in the Middle Ages), by Domenico Comparetti which appeared in the 1860's and has been translated into English. The present brief survey is based largely on his research, but also on the findings of more recent historians.

The earliest known biographer of Virgil in the Christian era is Suetonius (98-138 A.D.), author of *De viris illustribus*. According to Comparetti, it is an extinct work by Suetonius, of which, however, fragments have been traced, that furnished Aelius Donatus, the fourth century biographer, with his material; indeed, Comparetti maintains that Donatus copied Suetonius almost literally. Yet it should be mentioned that the latest revised edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* does not mention Virgil in connection with Suetonius. Aelius Donatus—there was also a Tiberius Claudius Donatus who wrote a commentary on the *Æneid*—flourished about 350 A.D. and was succeeded at the turn of the fourth century by the great Virgil commentator, the grammarian Servius.

A list of the ancient Virgil commentators would be too long and tiresome. In a sixteenth century edition of Virgil's work printed by Aldus the Younger, the present writer has found a list of "Testimonials of ancient writers on Virgil" over twenty-five in number, which includes such names as Pliny, Seneca, Tacitus, Suetonius and Macrobius. This last, a writer of the fourth and fifth centuries, was the author of the *Saturnalia* in which, according to Comparetti, Virgil "was glorified as a marvellous encyclo-

pædic author." Then there were, among others, Priscianus and Filigarius, who is said to have based his commentaries on Donatus; and Fulgenzio, author of *De Continentia Virgiliana*.

Now Donatus was the tutor of St. Jerome—and so the link is forged that binds Virgil to the Fathers. It does not require a bold imagination to suppose that the preoccupation of the teacher penetrated into the mind of the pupil. In a study of the influence of Virgil on St. Jerome and St. Augustine, H. D. Coffin¹ maintains that Virgil was the chief of St. Jerome's classical models, but adds that the creator of the Vulgate "cannot quite reconcile the study of pagans with true Christianity" and that, at a time when the pagan writers were looked upon as authorities even in theological matters, St. Jerome, who quoted Virgil frequently, never cited him on matters of faith. If our mind's eye conjures up the familiar woodcut of Dürer so that we see the bearded Saint poring over his tome among the friendly wild beasts, we must let our imagination supply in some corner of the genial cell, apart from the sacred books, a manuscript of the *Æneid*.

St. Jerome's great contemporary, St. Augustine, the defender of the City of God, had the most intimate knowledge of Virgil. In his *Confessions*,² he thus remembers the intellectual pursuits of his youth:

"But what was the cause of my dislike of Greek literature, which I studied from my boyhood, I cannot even now understand. For the Latin I loved exceedingly—not what our first masters but what the grammarians teach; for those primary lessons of reading, writing, and ciphering, I considered no less of a burden and a punishment than Greek. Yet whence was this but from the sin and vanity of this life? for I was 'but flesh, a wind that passeth away and cometh not again.' For those primary lessons were better, assuredly, because more certain; seeing that by their agency I acquired, and still retain, the power of reading what I find written, and writing myself what I will; whilst in the others I was compelled to learn about the wanderings of a certain *Æneas*, oblivious of my own, and to weep for Dido dead, because she slew herself for love; while at the same time I brooked with dry eyes my wretched self dying far from Thee, in the midst of those things, O God, my life.

"For what can be more wretched than the wretch who pities not himself shedding tears over the death of Dido for love of *Æneas*, but shedding no tears over his own death in not loving Thee . . ."

¹ *Classical Weekly*, XVII.

² Translation of Rev. Marcus Dods.

Yet, in spite of this contrition, the pagan poet was by no means dismissed from the mind of the militant Christian. According to Coffin, St. Augustine has referred to Virgil more often than any other Christian writer and has in the *De Civitate Dei* quoted him seventy times. Not having had enterprise enough to re-count the number of references, the present writer, turning the pages of that impassioned volume, has nevertheless become convinced of their great frequency. Most significant is what has generally been considered St. Augustine's interpretation of Virgil's Fourth Eclogue as a prophecy of the coming of Christ. This view, of which more shall be said later, continued to be held by many Christian commentators and was probably one of the chief forces that swept Virgil along the currents of Mediæval thought.

St. Ambrose, a contemporary of St. Augustine, was also familiar with Virgil's works. A German scholar, Gustav Schnürer (*Kirche und Kultur im Mittelalter*—"Church and Culture in the Middle Ages") writes: "Ambrose can never hide his antique education and his knowledge of the old writers. But his heart is not attached to them, with the exception, perhaps, of the poets, among whom Virgil fascinates him especially, and from whom he has borrowed numerous quotations and allusions. . . ."

Crossing the vague boundary line between Christian antiquity with its Patristic literature into the dim realm of the early Middle Ages, one finds that the reading or at least the knowledge of Virgil persists—a knowledge which is to fade into a nebulous web of legends. Dr. Schnürer mentions a library catalogue of the monastery Reichenau on the Bodensee (now in Baden, Germany) of the year 802, which contained 450 manuscripts. These included besides works of the church fathers, hagiographies, treatises on grammar and law, "Virgil and Christian poets." Virgil, by this time, has wandered farther north among the barbarians. The Italian scholar G. Funaioli mentions Irish glosses to a Virgil text by an Irish abbot of the seventh century; Dr. Schnürer speaks of the abbot of the monastery Malmesbury in Wessex, who died in 709, as acquainted with Virgil. The same authority goes so far as to suppose that Virgil served as model for *Beowulf*

when that naive legend was fashioned into an epic at the end of the seventh century.

And this takes us to the time of Charlemagne. Alcuin, the Englishman from York who became the chief teacher and literary figure at the court of the great Charles, knew his Virgil. Comparetti mentions a Virgil manuscript in the library at Bern, Switzerland, which is believed to have been written in Alcuin's hand or at least copied from a version previously made by him. But scholars seem to agree on Alcuin's insistence that delight in the poet must be subordinated to reverence and love for the Scriptures, that literature must be merely a path to the spiritual life. Eva M. Sanford,³ in a study of Alcuin's attitude toward the Classics, quotes a letter from Alcuin to a pupil: "May the four Gospels, not the twelve Æneids fill your heart, and their chariot waft you to the palaces of the heavenly kingdom." The fact that it was necessary thus to admonish the pupils makes one guess that the fate of Æneas and Dido kept some of the boys in the convent schools awake at night, as fiction fascinates the youth of to-day. That the classics, which were to become school-room obligations for youths of subsequent centuries, were the thrillers of the Dark Ages should make us pause before we, with our multiple presses and libraries with a million titles, take our superiority for granted.

As learning and the acquisition of libraries increased in the monasteries, and time ripened into the great age of scholastic speculation, the Mantuan poet was not left behind.

John of Salisbury, the English-born Bishop of Chartres who died about 1180, in a discourse on moderation and continence, found occasion to refer to Virgil, "the most faithful imitator of Homeric perfection" and to quote from Book I and Book III of the *Æneid*.

A much respected scholar of the thirteenth century, Vincent of Beauvais, whose *Speculum historiale* (Historical Mirror) was a forerunner of the outline world histories so much in vogue to-day, gave serious attention to Virgil. The present writer has had the good fortune to look through a beautiful printed edition

³ *Classical Journal*, XX.

of the *Speculum Historiale* of 1474,⁴ bound in the original boards and adorned with tinted initials. The scholar of Beauvais tells of Virgil's death and burial and how upon his tombstone these words are inscribed: "Mantua me genuit." Then one reads an account of what various writers have told about Virgil's legendary deeds and their comments upon his works. These writers are Helianandus (a monk and minstrel), Macrobius, St. Augustine with his interpretation of the Fourth Eclogue as a prophecy of Christ, St. Jerome who, according to Vincentius, similarly thought of Virgil as a prophet, and St. Isidor who confirmed his view. Vincent de Beauvais then refers definitely to the famous Eclogue and considers briefly the different books of the *Æneid*. And when one has come to the end of this chapter—what is the next? Nothing less than the story of the Annunciation: "De ortu beati Marie virginis prenunciato per angelum Actor."

Thus it appears that in the mind of the mediæval historian, Virgil, the prophet, was definitely the link between two eras.

It has been seen that the *Fourth Eclogue* was the repository for mediæval dreams of spiritual continuity. It would be well, therefore, before glancing over the popular Virgil legends, to examine the pastoral poem which was believed to contain a prophecy. And it is curious to observe that even as the Mediæval scholars pondered over this briefer piece, so scholars of the present are still discussing and disagreeing about its meaning.

The poem is dedicated to the Consul Pollio, a patron of Virgil, and it celebrates the expected birth of a glorious boy with whose advent peace and happiness will come upon the earth. In Dryden's translation one reads:

"The lovely boy, with his auspicious face,
Shall Pollio's consulship and triumph grace:
Majestic months set out (with him) to their appointed race.
The father banished virtue shall restore;
And crimes shall threat the guilty world no more.
The son shall lead the life of gods, and be
By gods and heroes seen, and gods and heroes see.
The jarring nations he in peace shall bind,
And with paternal virtues rule mankind."

⁴ In the Boston Public Library.

Then follows a charming description of blossoming and fruiting nature in that golden age.

"Each common bush shall Syrian roses wear"—no wonder if readers of such an idyll were reminded of the prophet Isaiah.

Now the scholars of to-day are bound to find out just what Virgil meant by the boy, the *parve puer*. A brilliant contribution to the controversy is a volume by the German scholar Eduard Norden, *Die Geburt des Kindes* (The Birth of the Child), which appeared in 1924—a study that has caused lively discussions in reviews. Norden makes a significant remark: "We shall find," he writes, "that theologians have recognised the essential nature of the Eclogue better than most philologists." The idea of a wondrous sun-child, the son or representative of a god, is shown to be rooted deep in Oriental and Egyptian tradition. Even as the Sibylline leaves that Virgil cited may have been influenced by Hebraic ideas via Alexandria, so the vision of a golden age coincident with the reign of a celestial child would easily have reached Rome and inspired the poet who in his pastoral gracefully fitted the dream of ages to a given occasion. But the boy was the child of the world's profoundest longing, and not the son of a Roman gentleman.

This view is contradicted by other philologists. H. J. Rose in an article in *The Classical Quarterly* of 1924 insists that the *puer* of the Eclogue is not an ideal child, but a real boy in the lifetime of the Consul Pollio. Either Antony or Octavian, who became Augustus, might be considered the father of the extraordinary child, but preferably Octavian. The German scholar R. C. Kukula in his study of *Roman Secular Poetry* (1911) maintains that the boy need have been no child at all at the time of the poem's composition, but that he was intended to be Octavian himself. Again, J. E. Church and the Italian Nic. Terzaghi believe that the child was no boy, but a girl—Julia, the daughter of Octavian and Scribonia.

All in all, one may say that the mediæval scholastic writers were wiser: they saw in the poem what they wanted to see and they agreed on an interpretation that was beautiful and satisfying.

So the way was paved for Virgil to take his course through the Middle Ages. If the emperor Constantine read the Fourth Eclogue, in a Greek version, to the Fathers assembled at the Council of Nicæa, what could one not expect? It is not surprising, then, that Virgil codexes were inscribed to Saints. Virgil was now among the prophets, and it is indeed a logical development that he should ultimately play a leading part in the Divine Comedy. But the progress of Virgilian lore did not always follow along a straight and reasonable course. There were devious and occult by-ways into which the reputation of the noble Mantuan was drawn. Comparetti has assembled the abundant and motley material of Virgil legends in a masterly way, supplementing his account with the sources, both poetry and prose, in Mediæval Latin, Old French, Middle High German; all that space will allow here is to mention some features of this array.

Virgil was buried at Naples and the Neapolitans believed that he protected their city, even that he was its founder; Comparetti mentions a letter written from Sicily in 1194 which alludes to such a belief. All sorts of marvellous feats were attributed to this patron of the city. One of the legends tells how Virgil had set up at the right of the city gate a head with a laughing aspect and at the left one that seems to weep: whoever entered the city on the right side would succeed in all he undertook, but he who entered at the left would fail in all things. According to a story which is quaintly told in *L'Image du Monde*, an Old French epic of the middle thirteenth century, St. Paul visited Virgil's grave, sorrowing that he had not seen this poet of the prophecy whom he would have made a Christian. The apostle entered the underground tomb amidst the noise of wind and thunder, to find Virgil seated among books, illuminated by a lamp; but a mysterious archer shot at the lamp, whereupon everything crumbled into dust. "Saint Paul, who would have liked to have the books," the old poet tells the tale, "could see nothing which was not turned to dust and cinders; he went away without taking anything."

The naive imagination was not contented with isolated instances of wonder-working, but must make of Virgil a magician, a sage

versed in astrology and the occult arts. Scholars seem to agree that he was not endowed with magical powers until the twelfth century. Again, the epic poets of the vulgar tongues required, besides a sage and necromancer, a lover of some sort. So Virgil figured also as Cavalier, particularly in the romances of the fourteenth century and later. The amorous adventures of the poet were told at length in a biographical epic by Bonamente Aliprando in 1414. But if one expects idealised romance of chivalry, one will be disappointed. Virgil, one learns, was given a tryst by a proud, high-born lady who volunteered to draw him, hidden in a basket, up to her room by a rope. When the basket was half-way in the air, she stopped pulling and let the poet dangle there all night. Virgil took his revenge by depriving all Rome of fire until the treacherous lady had fulfilled his humiliating conditions.

It is a delight to look at the childish vernacular literature. These Old French and Middle High German poems bear no more resemblance to the Muse of the poet whom they celebrate than the gargoyles on Notre Dame cathedral do to the Caryatids. There is something touching about Virgil's appeal, during a voyage to Venice: "Mary mother, pure maid, keep us from woe!"

But vernacular quaintness does not stop short with Mediæval poetry. The present writer came across an English translation of the *Æneid* made by Thomas Twyne, Doctor in Physicke, printed in London in 1584. There is little suggestion of Latin cadences and much of Elizabethan pithiness in the following "Argumentes" that precede the books:

"Æneas, in the first, to Libyland arriveth well.

The fall of Troy, and wofull dole, the second book doth tell.

The thyrd of wandringes speakes, and father dead, and laid full low.

In fourth Queene Dido burnes, & flames of raging love doth show . . ." etc.

A curious later publication—in Latin, however—of London in 1659, is a kind of epic of scriptural narrative and prophecy built upon the structure of the *Æneid*. On the title page of the worn little book⁵ is the laurel-crowned figure of Virgil, holding a book

⁵ In the Prince Collection of the Boston Public Library.

and blowing a trumpet out of which issue the words: "Jesus Christus Salvator Mundi." The author, Alexander Rosao of Aberdeen begs leave to put the song of Virgil to a better use and to "set the gem of our religion into his golden ring." And the lines found by chance on the fly-leaf of this odd volume seem to sum up the spirit that throughout the Middle Ages relegated Virgil to Limbo and at the same time called him thence:

"Arma virumque Maro cecinit, nos acta Deumque;
Cedant arma Viri, dum loquor acta Dei."

THE INFLUENCE OF CHIASMUS UPON THE STRUCTURE OF THE GOSPELS

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For a number of years the trend of Gospel criticism has been in the direction of *Formgeschichte*. Students of the Synoptic Problem are no longer satisfied with an investigation of the gospels as they are in our Greek text, but are extending their researches to the pre-gospel stage. Whether we approach this early stage of the Christian tradition with a hypothesis of an oral transmission or one of written sources, or with a hypothesis which is a combination of both, it will always be of interest to the Christian scholar to learn more about the early influences, which in some measure may have shaped the literary deposits of the Christian tradition. The present exponents of *Formgeschichte* have observed the stereotyped form of much of the materials that make up our gospels and have assumed, that both stories and sayings have been conventionalized by frequent use in missionary preaching. Various influences, they say, of a social or religious nature have been at work to shape the material. The controversial or didactic interest has also made itself felt. The result is, that we have had a process, not only of modifying and sifting of material that went into the gospels, but of *producing* such material. The tendency has been to stress the influence of the mission to the Gentiles as one of the major influences in the process of gospel formation, with the result that the influence of the earliest Palestinian or Aramaic speaking church has been minimized.

The purpose of this paper is to point out the existence of some structures in the gospels, which originated under the influence of Old Testament models. These are known as "introverted parallelism"¹ or as "chiasmus." This principle

¹ *Sacred Literature*, London, 1820, by John Jebb, Bishop of Limerick.

of literary construction consists in the inversion of ideas in a sentence, as in the well-known passage, "The *sabbath* was made for *man*, and not *man* for the *sabbath*" (Mk. 2: 27). This principle is made use of in the Old Testament to an extent which should make scholars devote more attention to its study.² The chiasmus has also been of a fundamental importance in the writing of the Pauline epistles.³ In the Gospels there are many clear evidences of an extensive use of chiasmus as a literary device. The existence and significance of these forms have been generally overlooked, even by writers who have devoted their efforts to tracing Aramaic influences in the Gospels.⁴ Two things will stand out as the result of these observations, namely, that the extensive use of chiasmus is of Semitic origin, and that the presence of long and intricate chiastic structures in our Gospels is most naturally explained by postulating their origin in an Aramaic-speaking community. In the brief remarks appended to each of the following passages it will not be possible to present this argument adequately, but the reader who will read the evidence presented in the articles referred to in the notes, will have no difficulty in relating the various types of passages in this article to their Old Testament patterns.

In Matt. 11:25-28 we have three comparatively simple chiastic structures. In the first of these (*A*) Jesus speaks of his Father (lines 1 and 4) and of his method of revealing "these things" to one class of people and hiding them to another class (lines 2 and 3). In the second section (*B*) the revelation is further explained as being through the Son. "All things" have been delivered unto him and therefore he alone can reveal them (lines 1 and 6). The reason for the Son's exclusive right of revealing the Father is presented in the chiastic structure of the four intervening lines. In the

² "The Presence of Chiasmus in the Old Testament," *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Vol. XLVI, No. 2, Jan. 1930.

³ "The Presence of Chiasmus in the New Testament," *Journal of Religion*, Vol. IX, No. 1, Jan. 1930.

⁴ *The Poetry of Our Lord*, by C. F. Burney, Oxford, 1925.

third section (C) the practical consequences of revelation through the Son are given. The symmetry is here more intricate and the passage is also more extensive. The double reference to them that "labor" and are "heavy laden" is balanced by the reference to the "yoke" and the "burden" (cf. *πεφορτισμένοι* with *φορτίον*). A double parallelism is also found in the two central lines, in which the twofold invitation to take up "my yoke" and to "learn of me" is matched by the twofold declaration, "For I am *meek*, and *lowly in heart*." Thus the three sections form a unit, expressing a progressive thought and having a formal climax, which is obtained by making each of the successive sections more ornate in form.

Ἐξομολογοῦμαι σοι, πάτερ κύριε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς,
ὅτι ἔκρυψας ταῦτα ἀπὸ σοφῶν καὶ συνετῶν,
A καὶ ἀπεκάλυψας αὐτὰ νηπίοις·
ναὶ, ὁ πατήρ, ὅτι οὕτως εὐδοκία ἐγένετο ἔμπροσθέν σου.

Πάντα μοι παρεδόθη ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς μου,
καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐπιγνώσκει τὸν υἱὸν
εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ,
B οὐδὲ τὸν πατέρα
τις ἐπιγνώσκει εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱὸς
καὶ ὃ ἐὰν βούληται ὁ υἱὸς ἀποκαλύψαι.

Δεῦτε πρὸς με πάντες οἱ κοπιῶντες καὶ πεφορτισμένοι,
καγὼ ἀναπαύσω ὑμᾶς.
ἄρατε τὸν ζυγόν μου ἐφ' ὑμᾶς καὶ μάθετε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ,
C ὅτι πραὺς εἰμι καὶ ταπεινὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ,
καὶ εὐρησετε ἀνάπαυσιν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑμῶν·
ὁ γὰρ ζυγὸς μου χρηστὸς καὶ τὸ φορτίον μου ἑλαφρόν ἐστιν.

(Matt. 11: 25-28)

In Matt. 7: 16-20 we discover a combination of chiasmic and *alternating* forms, that is, passages which are parallel in the order *a b a b*. In *AA* the introduction and conclusion of the passage is stated: In *B* is found a general statement as to what may be expected in the line of fruit. In *B'* a general

statement is made as to the fate of every tree that does not bear fruit. If the Greek of these lines be examined, they will reveal that the *ear* has had an interest in their construction, for the *nouns* in *B* and the *verbs* in *B'* have similar vowel sounds. With these we may compare the *endings* in section *C*. In the middle section (*C*) we discover a most interesting symmetry which becomes clear only as we consider the beginning and the end of the four lines. They deal with trees and their fruit. If we consider the trees alone, we have a regular alternation of good-corrupt-good-corrupt. In the last half of the section in which the fruit is described, we have a chiasmus, good-evil-evil-good. These lines are interesting because they show how in an arrangement which apparently is alternating, we may find hidden away also a chiastic order, a most unusual combination.

A ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιγνώσεσθε αὐτούς·
μήτι συλλέγουσιν ἀπὸ ἀκανθῶν σταφυλὰς

B ἢ ἀπὸ τριβόλων σῦκα ;
οὕτω πᾶν δένδρον ἀγαθὸν καρποὺς καλοὺς ποιεῖ,
τὸ δὲ σαπρὸν δένδρον καρποὺς πονηροὺς ποιεῖ·

C οὐ δύναται δένδρον ἀγαθὸν καρποὺς πονηροὺς ἐνεγκεῖν,
οὐδὲ δένδρον σαπρὸν καρποὺς καλοὺς ποιεῖν.

B' πᾶν δένδρον μὴ ποιοῦν καρπὸν καλὸν ἐκκόπτεται
καὶ εἰς πῦρ βάλλεται.

A' ἄραγε ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιγνώσεσθε αὐτούς.

(Matt. 7: 16-20)

The following verses in Matt. 7: 21-23 present a literary unity, which reveals itself as soon as we devote our attention to the *ideas* expressed in the passage rather than to the words. In *AA'* there is a twofold contrast between those, on the one hand, who confidently expect entrance into the kingdom of heaven and those, on the other, who are told to depart from the Lord. A second contrast is expressed between "he that doeth the will of my Father" and those "that work iniquity." In the two lines *BB'* the same contrast is expressed in a

threefold manner with reference to persons, time, and message. *Many* will say to me in *that day*, *Lord, Lord* (thus claiming acquaintance)." "And *then* will I profess to *them*, I *never knew you*." The intervening lines form a triplet, which is quite common in such structures and of which several examples may be found in both Old and New Testament passages. The *first* and the *third* verbs have a similar sound, while the central verb has not. To prophesy and to cast out demons are specific activities, but the "mighty powers" are more general. They are added in order to produce the triplet.⁵

A Οὐ πᾶς ὁ λέγων μοι Κύριε κύριε εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν,
ἀλλ' ὁ ποιῶν θέλημα τοῦ πατρὸς μου τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.

B πολλοὶ ἐροῦσίν μοι ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ Κύριε κύριε,
οὐ τῷ σῷ ὀνόματι ἐπροφητεύσαμεν,

C καὶ τῷ σῷ ὀνόματι δαιμόνια ἐξεβάλομεν,
καὶ τῷ σῷ ὀνόματι δυνάμεις πολλὰς ἐποιήσαμεν;

B' καὶ τότε ὁμολογήσω αὐτοῖς ὅτι Οὐδέποτε ἔγνων ὑμᾶς·
ἀποχωρεῖτε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ

A' οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν ἀνομίαν.

(Matt. 7: 21-23)

The two brief sections that are found in Matt. 7: 3-5 require little comment, for their symmetries are obvious, being obtained by an artistic arrangement of personal pronouns, articles, and prepositions, either at the beginning or at the end of the lines, and, in section B, by a definite disposition of the verb ἐκβάλλω in the centre of the first, last, and central group of three lines. Having found this order in the first and central group, one is justified in looking for it also in the last group of three lines of section B. In the passage, as it now stands, in our arrangement, the present order of the Greek text has been slightly altered with a view of restoring what has been felt to be the original order. The lines 11 and 12 have been transposed. When this is done the present symmetry is obtained. It is easy to see how in an ordinary

⁵ Cf. "not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing," Eph. 5: 27; *Journal of Religion*, Vol. X, No. 1, p. 87.

manuscript, whose lines are of a length equal to those in section *B* (13-16 letters to the line), the lines might be transposed. This may happen either by accident or because of a desire to make the original order of the sentence, which may appear a little unusual, seem regular. The position of ἐκβάλω in the present arrangement, and a consideration of the similarity in sound thus obtained in the endings will, if other evidences of literary artistry also be considered, influence our judgment in favor of the present arrangement.

τὶ δὲ βλέπεις
 τὸ κάρφος
 τὸ ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ
 τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου
A τὴν δὲ ἐν τῷ σῷ
 ὀφθαλμῷ
 δοκόν
 οὐ κατανόεις;
 ἢ πῶς ἐρεῖς
 τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου
 "Ἄφες ἐκβάλω τὸ κάρφος
 ἐκ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ σου
 καὶ ἰδοὺ
 ἡ δοκός
 ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ σου;
B ὑποκριτά, ἐβαλε πρῶτον
 ἐκ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ σου
 τὴν δοκόν,
 καὶ τότε διαβλέψεις
 ἐκ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ
 ἐκβαλεῖν τὸ κάρφος
 τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου.

(Matt. 7: 3-5)

Not only are sayings of Jesus cast in chiasmic forms, but also narrative passages containing stories about Jesus follow similar patterns. The next two passages offer an

interesting comparison, because they are two different treatments of the same motif. In both passages the significant saying is found in a central position, surrounded by the narrative material, though in the one case (Matt. 13: 54-57) it is a saying of the villagers of Nazareth, while in the other it contains the prophecy of Isaiah, quoted by Jesus (Luke 4: 16-20). The first of these passages shows a combination of the alternating (*AA'* and *C*) and the chiastic order (*BB'*). In *C* the male members of the family are mentioned in lines 1 and 3 and the female members in lines 2 and 4. In view of the other parallelism in *AA'* one wonders if the concluding phrase, "in his house," should not be made to refer to the synagogue rather than to the family of Jesus.

καὶ ἐλθὼν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα αὐτοῦ

A ἐδίδασκεν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ αὐτῶν,

ὥστε ἐκπλήσσεσθαι αὐτοὺς καὶ λέγειν

B Πόθεν τούτῳ ἡ σοφία αὕτη καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις ;

οὐχ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τοῦ τέκτονος υἱός ;

οὐχ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ λέγεται Μαριάμ

C καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ Ἰάκωβος καὶ Ἰωσήφ καὶ Σίμων καὶ Ἰούδας ;

καὶ αἱ ἀδελφαὶ αὐτοῦ οὐχὶ πᾶσαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς εἰσὶν ;

B' Πόθεν οὖν τούτῳ ταῦτα πάντα ;

καὶ ἐσκανδαλίζοντο ἐν αὐτῷ. ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς

Οὐκ ἔστιν προφήτης ἄτιμος εἰ μὴ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι

A' καὶ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ.

(Matt. 13: 54-57)

The next passage in Luke 4: 16-20 shows the centripetal tendency of quotations in chiastic structures of which there are several examples in the New Testament. The various strokes with which the setting in the synagogue is painted are very striking, when they are seen to be so many antithetic parallelisms in *A* and *A'* (cf. especially the last four lines of *A* and the first four of *A'*). The quotation from Isaiah

61:1-2 is from the Septuagint text, but with significant variations. These variations are indicated in the foot notes appended to our arrangement of the text. A glance at our arrangement shows that the passage, as it now stands in the gospel of Luke, is a perfect chiasmus. All attempts to introduce what has been left out, or to leave out what has been added, would immediately destroy the present symmetry. Even such a slight change as that from *κηρύξαι* to *καλέσαι* would render the parallelism of lines 2 and 6 less striking. Even the fact that the quotation ends, when only one member of the parallelism has been quoted, leaving out the second and completing member, finds its most natural explanation in the desire of the writer of this passage not to mar the chiasmus he had constructed. Observations of like nature show, that the chiasmus may, with some degree of certainty, be employed as a tool in textual investigations.

καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς Ναζαρά, οὗ ἦν τετραμμένος,
καὶ εἰσῆλθεν κατὰ εἰωθὸς αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν σαββάτων
εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν,
καὶ ἀνέστη ἀναγνῶναι.

A καὶ ἐπεδόην αὐτῷ βιβλίον τοῦ προφήτου Ἡσαίου
καὶ ἀνοίξας τὸ βιβλίον εὗρεν τὸν τόπον οὗ ἦν γεγραμμένον

Πνεῦμα κυρίου ἐπ' ἐμέ, οὗ εἵνεκεν ἔχρισέν με
εὐαγγελίσασθαι πτωχοῖς,
ἀπέσταλκεν με(1) κηρύξαι αἰχμαλώτοις ἄφρουν

B καὶ τυφλοῖς ἀνάβλεψιν,
ἀποστεῖλαι τετρασμένους ἐν ἀφέσει(2)
κηρύξαι(3)
ἐνιαυτὸν κυρίου δεκτόν(4).

καὶ πτύξας τὸ βιβλίον

A' ἀποδοὺς τῷ ὑπηρέτῃ
ἐκάθισεν·

καὶ πάντων οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ
ἦσαν ἀτενίζοντες αὐτῷ.

ἤρξατο δὲ λέγειν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὅτι. . . .

(Luke 4: 16-20)

1. At this point LXX from which the quotation is taken adds the words, *ιάσασθαι τοὺς συντετριμμένους τὴν καρδίαν*.
2. The whole line is missing from Isaiah 61: 1-2 from which the rest of the quotation is derived, but the words are found in Isaiah 58: 6 with the infinitive changed into an imperative, *ἀπόσπελλε τεθραυσμένους ἐν ἀφέσει*.
3. For the word *καλέσαι*, which is used in LXX, *κηρύξαι* is substituted, either by Luke himself or by the author of his source. The former of these words has a more general meaning in the New Testament, while the latter usually means to preach the gospel, thus making a better parallel to *εὐαγγελίσασθαι*.
4. The second member of the parallelism in LXX reads, *καὶ ἡμερὰν ἀνταποδόσεως*. These words have not been included in the quotation, since they would have disturbed the symmetry of the passage, which is complete as it now is. Thus we find that all four points in which the passage departs from LXX may be explained with the chiasmus in a most natural manner.

The following two passages are offered as examples of the literary qualities of some of the sayings of Jesus. They also show how extensive structures may be built up by a writer employing lines or couplets of an alternating or chiastic order. The long passage in Matt. 13: 13-18 has a quotation from Isaiah's sixth chapter, again in a central position. Section *F* has long been known as a chiastic structure and is so printed by Westcott and Hort. The more extensive symmetry of this passage, however, seems to have escaped the commentators. There is a play upon the verbs of *seeing* and *hearing* which is sustained throughout the passage. In the couplets *D* and *E* the verbs occur in the *first* lines, while in the corresponding couplets *E'* and *D'* they are found in the *last* line of each couplet. Likewise the verbs *συνῆτε* and *ἴδετε* which are found in *D* and *E*, also occur in *F*, but in its *last* half, and with their order inverted (*cf.* *ἴδωσιν, συνῶσιν*). A

similar arrangement seems to have been followed in the order of the verbs in *B* and *B'*. These sections have alternating couplets. If the verbs of seeing and hearing be observed when they occur in the *present tense*—the tense common to *B* and *B'*, hence the only one that can be compared—it will be found, that these verbs occur in the *second* line of each couplet in *B*, while they occur in the *first* line in each couplet in *B'*. In *C* “prophecy” and “saith” goes with “I say” and “prophets” in *C'*. If any one should still doubt, that this intricate passage is the result of a deliberate design on the part of the writer, he is invited to consider the fact, that the literary pattern begins *before* the quotation from Isaiah is taken up and continues *after* the quotation is brought to a close. No single fact could better establish the case in favor of a deliberate design as against an unconscious symmetry.

A Διὰ τοῦτο ἐν παραβολαῖς αὐτοῖς λαλῶ,

ὅτι βλέποντες

οὐ βλέπουσιν

B καὶ ἀκούοντες

οὐκ ἀκούουσιν οὐδὲ συνίουσιν

καὶ ἀναπληροῦται αὐτοῖς ἡ προφητεία Ἡσαίου

C ἢ λέγουσα

Ἄκοῦ ἰκούσετε

D καὶ οὐ μὴ συνῆτε,

καὶ βλέποντες βλέψετε

E καὶ οὐ μὴ ἴδητε.

ἐπαχύντη γὰρ ἡ καρδία τοῦ λαοῦ τουτοῦ

καὶ τοῖς ὤσιν βαρέως ἤκουσαν,

καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν ἐκάμνυσαν·

F μὴ ποτε ἴδωσιν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς

καὶ τοῖς ὤσιν ἀκούσωσιν

καὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ συνώσιν καὶ ἐπιστρέψωσιν καὶ ἰάσονται
αὐτοῦς.

- E'* ὑμῶν δὲ μακάριοι οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ
ὅτι βλέπουσιν,
- D'* καὶ τὰ ὦτα (ὑμῶν)
ὅτι ἀκούουσιν.
- C'* ἀμὴν γὰρ λέγω ὑμῖν
ὅτι πολλοὶ προφῆται καὶ δίκαιοι ἐπεθύμησαν
ιδεῖν ἃ βλέπετε
καὶ οὐκ εἶδαν,
- B'* καὶ ἀκοῦσαι ἃ ἀκούετε
καὶ οὐκ ἤκουσαν.
- A'* ὑμεῖς οὖν ἀκούσατε τὴν παραβολὴν τοῦ σπείραντος.
(Matt. 13: 13-18)

In Matt. 6: 24-34 we find lines within the sections which are alternating, while the sections themselves are arranged in a chiasmic order. In section *A*, which is chiasmic, we have the two masters, God and Mammon, and a statement concerning the necessity of choosing one's relations with the one or the other. In *A'*, also chiasmic, the two types of lives arising from such a choice are characterized, namely, the life of Gentiles or of true Christians. Whether one belongs in one class or in the other depends on whether one seeks "all these things," or, "his kingdom and his righteousness." It is this similarity in outlook between the two passages that makes them parallel, rather than any verbal similarity. Notice also, that "all these things" are referred to in the first, last, and central lines of *A'*. The material found between these two extreme sections forms a symmetric unity. The exhortation against anxiety is found in the first lines of *B* and *B'* and twice in *F*. The causes of the anxiety are three, namely, problems of food, drink, and clothing (*cf.* lines 2, 3, 4 of *B* and *B'*). The anxious questions of worried Christians are met with an argument, which is found in *C* and may be expressed as follows: "If you have to trust God for the greater things, life *

* Note: Discussion continued after the Outline on page 40.

Οἵδεῖς δύναται δυσὶ κυρίοις δουλεύειν·

ἢ γὰρ τὸν ἕνα μισήσει
καὶ τὸν ἕτερον ἀγαπήσει,

A ἢ ἐνὸς ἀνθέξεται
καὶ τοῦ ἑτέρου καταφρονήσει·
οὐ δύνασθε θεῷ δουλεύειν καὶ μαμωνᾷ.

Διὰ τοῦτο λέγω ὑμῖν, μὴ μεριμνᾶτε τῇ ψυχῇ ὑμῶν
τί φάγητε

B (ἢ τί πίητε,)
μηδὲ τῷ σώματι ὑμῶν τί ἐνδύσθησθε·

οὐχὶ ἡ ψυχὴ πλεῖον ἐστὶ
τῆς τροφῆς

C καὶ τὸ σῶμα
τοῦ ἐνδύματος ;

ἐμβλέψατε εἰς τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ
ὅτι οὐ σπείρουσιν

D οὐδὲ θερίζουσιν
οὐδὲ συνάγουσιν εἰς ἀποθήκας,

E καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος τρέφει αὐτά·
οὐχ ὑμεῖς μᾶλλον διαφέρετε αὐτῶν ;

τίς δὲ ἐξ ὑμῶν μεριμνῶν δύναται

F προσθεῖναι ἐπὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν αὐτοῦ πῆχυν ἕνα ;
καὶ περὶ ἐνδύματος
τί μεριμνᾶτε ;

καταμάθετε τὰ κρίνα τοῦ ἀγροῦ

D' πῶς αὐξάνουσιν·
οὐ κοπιῶσιν
οὐδὲ νήθουσιν·

E' λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν ὅτι οὐδὲ Σολομὼν ἐν πάσῃ τῇ δόξῃ αὐτοῦ
περιεβάλετο ὥς ἐν τούτων.

- εἰ δὲ τὸν χόρτον τοῦ ἀγροῦ σήμερον ὄντα
 C' καὶ αὔριον εἰς κλίβανον βαλλόμενον
 ὁ θεὸς οὕτως ἀμφιέννυσιν,
 οὐ πολλῷ μᾶλλον ὑμᾶς, ὀλιγόπιστοι;
 μὴ οὖν μεριμνήσητε λέγοντες
 B' Τί φάγωμεν;
 ἢ Τί πίωμεν;
 ἢ Τί περιβαλώμεθα;
 πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα
 τὰ ἔθνη ἐπιζητοῦσιν.
 A' οἶδεν γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος ὅτι χρήσετε τούτων ἀπάντων.
 ζητεῖτε δὲ πρῶτον τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην αὐτοῦ,
 καὶ ταῦτα πάντα προστεθήσεται ὑμῖν.
 μὴ οὖν μεριμνήσητε
 B'' εἰς τὴν αὔριον,
 ἢ γὰρ αὔριον
 μεριμνή σεις αὐτῆς.
 ἀρκετὸν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἡ κακία αὐτῆς.

(Matt. 6: 24-34)

OUTLINE

- A. A Christian must choose between two masters: God, Mammon.
- A'. The result of the choice is seen in two types of life, the life of the Gentiles, and the life of Christians, each type being determined by what men seek, whether material or spiritual good.
- B. The threefold cause of anxiety: food, drink, clothing.
- B'. The threefold cause of anxiety: food, drink, clothing.
- C. The cure of anxiety: Men have to trust God for the greater gifts: life, body. Why not trust him also for the lesser gifts: food, clothing?
- C'. The cure of anxiety: Men see how God daily cares for the lesser things in creation: the grass. Why not have faith in him that he will care also for the greater: his children.

- D. The problem of food illustrated: the birds of the heavens.
- D'. The problem of raiment treated: the lilies of the field.
- E. The solution of the problem: God who cares for the less important part of his creation, the birds, will surely not neglect the more important part, his children: food is given.
- E'. The solution of the problem: God who cares for the less important part of his creation, the lilies, so abundantly that even the greater among men, Solomon, is not arrayed as a lily, may be trusted to provide raiment for his children.
- F. The centre, containing the pivot of the argument.
 The problem of food: implied in second line.
 The problem of raiment: expressed in third line.
 Exhortation against anxiety caused by both problems:
 first and fourth lines. Cf. the same verb in first lines, BB'.

* * *

and body, why can you not trust him for the lesser things, food and raiment?" In *C'* the argument is of a similar type and may be expressed as follows: "If you see that God in nature has made provisions for the grass, which is ephemeral and insignificant, can you not then believe that he will provide for you, who are far more important?" The argument is of a similar nature in either case, but whereas in *C* the movement is from the greater to the smaller, in *C'* it is from the smaller to the greater. Another difference is also discovered. Whereas *C* follows *B*, it will be found that *C'* in accordance with the chiasitic order of the sections (*BCC'B'*) precedes *B'*. A further step toward the centre of the passage will bring us to the two illustrations, one on either side of the centre *F*. The first form in which the anxiety was expressed was threefold, namely, in questions pertaining to food, drink, and clothing. By treating the first two as one class, since they both are means of sustenance, the problem is reduced to a twofold statement. The problem of food is taken care of in this

simplified form of the argument by the illustration drawn from the birds of the heaven, and the problem of clothing by the illustration drawn from the lilies of the field (*cf.* *DD'*). Each of the four lines of section *D* ends in Greek with a sound which is similar to the corresponding line in *D'*. One may say that we have here an instance of rhyme. The argument begun in *D* is brought to a conclusion in *E* as follows: God feeds the birds, and ye are more than they? The argument begun in *D'* is concluded in *E'* as follows: Not even Solomon, though much more important, was arrayed like the lilies. Again, we have the comparison between the greater and the smaller to clinch the argument already under way, just as we found it in *C* and *C'*, but in these cases we have alternating sections as well as alternating lines (*DED'E'*) and not alternating lines and chiasmic sections, as we found the order to be in *BCC'B'*. In the central section *F* we find, beside a twofold warning against anxiety, also a twofold reference to the causes of the anxiety. It is evident that the adding to one's stature has reference to the process of growth due to the partaking of food, while the reference to raiment deals with the problem of clothing. The symmetry of this long passage is so perfect, even in minute details, that hardly a word * could be removed or added without disturbing the balance of the passage. A concluding section *B''*, chiasmic in form and followed by a single line, brings the whole passage to a close. One can hardly imagine a more fitting example of the old Hebrew proverb, "A word fitly spoken is like apples of gold in a network of silver" (Prov. 25:11).

The Prologue of the Gospel according to John has always presented a number of problems to the exegete. The ideas are perfectly clear in themselves, the sentences are of a very simple construction, and yet it is not always easy to see how they connect with one another. The presentation appears at times to be somewhat repetitious, as when in vs. 2 the writer begins all over again to say what he has stated in the first verse.

* *Cf.* ἡ τὴν πλῆρη (*B*) which are bracketed by Westcott and Hart.

According to the ordinary standards of style it is impossible to defend the writer from the charge of tautology. As soon as we treat the Prologue in accordance with the regular chiasitic forms, all these apparent deficiencies disappear, and the passage is discovered to be one symmetric structure, closely knit in form and in thought.

Ἐν ἀρχῇ
 ἦν
 ὁ λόγος
 καὶ ὁ λόγος
 ἦν
 πρὸς τὸν θεόν
 A καὶ θεός
 ἦν
 ὁ λόγος.
 οὗτος
 ἦν
 ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸν θεόν.

πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο,
 καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο
 οὐδὲ ἐν ὃ γέγονεν.
 ἐν αὐτῷ ζωὴ ἦν,
 καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ἦν τὸ φῶς τῶν ἀνθρώπων.
 καὶ τὸ φῶς
 ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ

B φαίνει,
 καὶ ἡ σκοτία
 αὐτὸ οὐ κατέλαβεν.
 ἦν τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀληθινόν
 ὃ φωτίζει πάντα ἄνθρωπον ἐρχόμενον
 εἰς τὸν κόσμον.
 ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἦν,
 καὶ ὁ κόσμος δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο.

καὶ ὁ κόσμος αὐτὸν οὐκ ἔγνω.

εἰς τὰ ἴδια ἦλθεν,

καὶ οἱ ἴδιοι

αὐτὸν

A' οὐ παρέλαβον.

ὅσοι δὲ ἔλαβον

αὐτόν,

ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν

τέκνα θεοῦ γενέσθαι,

τοῖς πιστεύουσιν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ.

οἱ οὐκ ἐξ αἱμάτων

C οὐδὲ ἐκ θελήματος σαρκὸς

οὐδὲ ἐκ θελήματος ἀνδρὸς

ἀλλ' ἐκ θεοῦ ἐγεννήθησαν.

καὶ ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο

καὶ ἐσκηνώσεν ἐν ἡμῖν,

A καὶ ἐθεασάμεθα τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ,

δόξαν ὡς μονογενοῦς παρὰ πατρός,

πλήρης χάριτος καὶ ἀληθείας.

ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ πληρώματος αὐτοῦ ἡμεῖς πάντες ἐλάβομεν,

B καὶ χάριν ἀντὶ χάριτος.

ὅτι ὁ νόμος διὰ Μωυσέως ἐδόθη,

ἡ χάρις καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐγένετο.

θεὸν οὐδεὶς ἑώρακεν πώποτε·

A' μονογενὴς θεὸς

ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρὸς

ἐκεῖνος ἐξηγήσατο.

(John 1:1-18)

OUTLINE

A. The eternal Logos with God.

A'. The historical Logos with men: rejected (lines 1-5).
received (lines 6-10).

B. The relations of the Logos to the cosmos (lines 1-3; 13-15). The words δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο begin and conclude section B. Observe the threefold use of γίνομαι and of κόσμος at the opening and close of the section.

The relations of the Logos to the men of the Old Testament as life (lines 4-5) and as light (lines 11-12).

There is a climax: light-true light; and, men-every man. The conflict between light and darkness (lines 6-10).

- C. True and false grounds of sonship contrasted: human (lines 2, 3) and divine (lines 1, 4, assuming that ἐξ αἱμάτων here has reference to sacrifices or initiations of the cults).
- A. The historical Logos; dwelling among men; seen by men.
- A'. The eternal Logos: "in the bosom of the Father," not seen.
- B. The relations of the Logos to believers in the New Testament: Moses and Christ, law and grace and truth are contrasted. In this arrangement vss. 6-8 and vs. 15 are treated as extraneous material.

* * *

Only a few remarks need be added to our arrangement and to the appended outline. The *first* and *third* parts of the Prologue are the longest and consist of three distinct sections, which for the sake of convenience have been designated *ABA'*. Between these two parts a smaller section of four lines occurs, stating the true basis for sonship. If the first and the third parts be compared, it will be found that they *together* present the following scheme of thought:

- A The eternal Logos with God.
- B The relations of the Logos to the cosmos and to the men of the Old Testament.
- C The historical Logos rejected and received by men.
- D True and false grounds of sonship.
- C' The historical Logos dwelling among men and seen by them.
- B' The relations of the Logos to believers in the New Testament.
- A' The eternal Logos "in the bosom of the Father."

No better proof may be had of our contention, that in the chiastic order we are not concerned either with lines or with strophes. Only a glance at vss. 1-2 will show that we are dealing with a perfect chiastic structure of twelve members, yet there is not the remotest semblance of anything that might be called lines. Likewise a comparison between the first

and the third parts of the Prologue will reveal a close correspondence in the order of the ideas together with a total disregard for strophic symmetry. Another interesting feature is the position of the various forms of the verb λαμβάνω. It is found in the *last* of the five lines making up the centre *B* in v. 5 and in the *first* of the three lines making up the centre in *B* in v. 16. It occurs twice in the central couplet of *A'* in v. 12.

In vs. 9 there is an uncertainty about construing the sentence, since it is not clear to what preceding word the participle ἐρχόμενον is to be referred. Three possibilities are offered us by the commentators, which may be brought out by paraphrases as follows: (1) The Logos was the true light, which lighteth every man, when that man cometh into the world. (2) The Logos was the true light which, when it cometh into the world, lighteth every man. (3) The true light, which lighteth every man, was coming into the world (*cf.* a similar construction in Mk. 2: 18). In the arrangement of the text the present writer has not satisfied himself that any of these three possibilities is correct. Suppose we translate, "The Logos was the true light, which lighteth every man," and then begin a new sentence with the true light as the implied subject carried over from the preceding, as follows, "Coming into the world, in the world he was." The meaning would then be, that the Logos, coming into the world at creation, was still there. Though this fact has already been expressed in lines 5-12 by the activities ascribed to the Logos in the world of men, it may not inappropriately be expressed once more with reference to the cosmos. For the Logos is not only the creative power, but also the *sustaining* power in the cosmos. These two phases of the function of the Logos would then be made to stand, one at the beginning and the other at the end of section *B*. For a parallel passage in which the two ideas stand in juxtaposition the reader is referred to Heb. 1: 2, "through whom he also made the ages," and vs. 3, "upholding all things by the word of his power."

This suggestion is offered with some hesitation. Yet it seems preferable to move the participle down to the following line, since the couplet in which it occurs seems complete without it, forming a perfect parallel to its corresponding couplet in lines 4, 5 of *B*.

As has already been indicated in the outline vss. 6-8 and vs. 15 are treated as extraneous material, that is to say, they do not enter into the scheme of thought in the Prologue. They may, however, be a part of an apologetic purpose that runs through the gospel and might have been directed against followers of John the Baptist, who persisted as a religious group to a late date (*cf.* Acts 19: 1-7). We may easily conceive of circumstances in which it might have been necessary to distinguish between Jesus as the true Light and John who was also by his followers regarded as a great light (*cf.* John 5: 33-35). The position of this extraneous material in the Prologue is not without interest to one who studies the structure of the passage, for vss. 6-8 *follow* immediately the central group of five lines, while vs. 15 *precedes* the central group of three lines of their respective systems. That this material is definitely placed with some reference to the centre of their systems shows, that we are here not dealing with a haphazard interpolation, but with material which may have come from the original author of the gospel. It serves a well defined apologetic purpose, which is in harmony with other details in the gospel of a similar nature. Would it seem too modern to treat the verses as part of a series of alternative readings, which might easily be detached or appended to the service, as the occasion required?

With these observations we must bring our remarks to a close. These examples, which represent only a handful of a great mass of material, show clearly the influence of the Hebrew literary models of the Old Testament. They cannot have originated, as the exponents of *formgeschichte* hold, under influences arising from the needs of the Gentile mission. They represent either a translation of Hebrew or Aramaic

writings into Greek by the hands of skilful translators, or they are original Greek writings done by men who were steeped in the Hebrew literary forms. It will not be necessary to choose between these two possibilities, for both may exist side by side. When one reads a passage like Luke 4: 16-20 in the book of the Gentile Luke, the most natural explanation seems to be, that he took it over in this form from one of his sources. That it really is possible to transfer, not only the thought, but also the form of a passage, from Hebrew to Greek is proven by the Septuagint.⁶ On the other hand it may be pointed out, that the existence of the epistles of Paul, which no one suspects of being translations, and in which these forms abound, shows that the Hebrew custom of making an extensive use of the chiasmus may be carried over into the Greek language, without impairing the beauty and force of the style. Much of that which in the Pauline epistles has been held to be inelegant tautologies will be found to be merely the chiastic style, which as a literary form has as much claim to our consideration as any other style of writing.

A more careful attention to these forms should provide the scholar who is interested in the Synoptic Problem with a new instrument. The literary approach to the Synoptic Problem can hardly be regarded as antiquated, or its possibilities exhausted, while forms like those found in the passages we have reviewed have remained entirely unnoticed. It would also appear that before we begin to discuss the influences—social or theological, didactic or controversial—which formed our present gospel material into what it now is, we should first ascertain more definitely than hitherto has been done what those forms really are like. The tendency of the exponents of *Formgeschichte*, as some of its critics have pointed out, has been to give themselves to the investigation of the *function*

⁶ *Journal of Religion*, Vol. X, No. 1, p. 92, and note, where Amos 2: 14-16 is given in Greek translation with the chiastic form beautifully preserved and with the lines ending in words of similar sound to the corresponding lines.

rather than the *form* of the stories and sayings that compose our gospels. Whatever one may think of the passages presented in this article and of the general value of such investigations, one thing seems to be clear. We are in these investigations dealing with form, and nothing but form. These forms are not hypothetical, for they stand out in our Greek text very clearly, as soon as their presence is suspected. When we write *Formgeschichte* and take into account these forms, our investigations will bring us back to Palestinian soil, or at least to Christian communities in which the Hebrew heritage was appreciated and cultivated. Such forms could not have been produced, unless both writer and readers knew and appreciated them. Even a cursory acquaintance with the literary possibilities of the chiasmus will commend it as a mnemonic device. Whether we think of the custodians of the ancient Hebrew traditions and the lore of the sanctuaries or of the Christian preacher and teacher who travelled among the churches in the first century, it is evident, that stories and sayings preserved in the chiastic form must have been more easily remembered than similar material in ordinary prose style. Oral transmission theories are recalled in connection with the Synoptic Problem, and it is not impossible that some of these now almost universally discarded views may appear more plausible, when the presence of chiasmus and its influence upon the structure of the gospels has been more fully investigated.

PROFESSOR BACON'S STUDIES IN MATTHEW

By BURTON SCOTT EASTON, General Theological Seminary

Studies in Matthew. By Benjamin W. Bacon. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1930, pp. xxvi + 533. \$5.00.

In another context Dr. Bacon has spoken of his retirement from active teaching as "only the beginning of successive years of exposition of the Life of Christ." And of these new years the present volume is the first-fruits.

Here he collects, systematizes and extends researches that have occupied him for a long generation; researches that have already appeared in dozens of monographs. Every special student of the New Testament, of course, has followed his work meticulously and knows it well, but the advantage of having it lucidly assembled and expounded is inestimable. The "kernel," so to speak, of the results will be found on pages 263-287, where the First Gospel is translated into English and furnished with marginal symbols explaining the analysis. There are seven of these symbols. M denotes Markan material. Q is familiar for the Lukan-Matthaeian "double tradition." S ("Second Source") denotes the whole original document of which Q was only a part. N is "Nazarene Targum." The identifying peculiarities of this source are that it cites the Old Testament from the Hebrew, and that it handles its material in "targum" fashion: representative passages are 2: 1-12, 16: 28-33, 17: 24-27, as well as most of the formal citations of prophecy. O is "oral tradition"; employed very sparingly and always with a question-mark. R, naturally, means "redactor." The seventh symbol, P, does not denote a source but is used for the reader's convenience to point out matter "peculiar" to Matthew; it is regularly accompanied with one of the other symbols.

This translation forms the third of the four parts into which the volume is divided. Part I is "General Introduction." The

date of the Gospel is put within the last decade of the first century and its place of writing is made the general region of Edessa. The remainder of this Part is devoted to the sources and to the characteristics of the editor, whom Dr. Bacon aptly characterizes as a "converted Rabbi." In Part II, "Special Introduction," seven chapters analyze the five "books" of Matthew with the prologue (chapters 1-2) and the epilogue (chapters 26-28); the purpose at this point is to determine the concrete use of the sources and (especially) the precise motives of the redactor. Part IV, "Themes," retraverses the same ground but from a more systematic standpoint. And there are no less than ten appended notes. In the eighth of these Dr. Bacon vigorously criticizes Canon Streeter's theory of a special Matthaean source M: M is merely the portion of S used by Matthew but not by Luke.

As far as the sources are concerned, Dr. Bacon's chief and absorbing interest lies in S, a theme that he discusses at length in the relevant chapters and to which he reverts at every opportunity. As was said above, he holds that S was much longer than its Q portion. It was by no means a mere agglutination of sayings, but had the form of extended "discourses," connected by a thread of narrative. Its structure was very definite, and Dr. Bacon argues that it even contained a Passion and Resurrection narrative; to say with Harnack that S was not a Gospel is to reason from artificially narrow criticism. Nor was S used only by Luke and Matthew; Mark, too, is in large measure dependent on this source. This theory as a whole, naturally, is a refinement of the one maintained so long by Bernard Weiss, and its powerful revival by Dr. Bacon is very welcome. The present reviewer—at least—believes whole-heartedly with Dr. Bacon that the correct solution of the Synoptic problem should be sought along these lines, and that current Synoptic specialists in neglecting the history of their subject are maiming their own work. I believe, in addition, that considerations of Greek grammar, style and vocabulary—matters on which Dr. Bacon does not touch—furnish potent corroboration of this theory.

This, obviously, does not imply endorsing the impossibly large dimensions that Weiss gave S; Dr. Bacon here has been well on his guard. Nor does it imply endorsing Dr. Bacon's theory of an S Passion narrative, which even Weiss did not hold. There is no evidence for the presence of such a narrative in the document. The L material to which Dr. Bacon refers on page 117 is in a Greek style very different from that of S. Nor does there appear to be any necessity for a Passion narrative in a source composed for catechetical instruction in the teaching of Christ; Luke 22: 24-30 would have formed a wholly adequate—indeed, magnificent—close.

Dubious likewise is Dr. Bacon's contention that the Second Source could never have been called the "Sayings." He is of course perfectly right in asserting that this term where we meet it—as in Papias—described not the title but the content of the writing. Yet the writing as a whole must have been called *something*, and what title would have been more likely than the one that exactly describes the content?

Where agreement with Dr. Bacon is most difficult, however, is his dismissal of any connection between the source and the name "Matthew." Everyone will concur cordially with his declaration that Papias' famous dictum refers not to S but to our present First Gospel. But we still have to ask—as Dr. Bacon does—"Why according to Matthew?" And it does not seem that he has satisfactorily answered his own question. He says, "When originally attached to our first Gospel [Matthew] may have referred to some primitive Christian, to us totally unknown, who bore this quite common Jewish name" (page 41). Yet, since the redactor of the Gospel places him among the Twelve, Matthew must have been an outstanding member of the primitive church. So Dr. Bacon hazards the guess that Matthew was the first missionary to Edessa, and that the Gospel as a whole professed to be drawn up according to his teaching.

S itself, Dr. Bacon continues, could not have been written by anyone claiming apostolic rank, for the apostolic function was missionary preaching, while S was designed to instruct those al-

ready converted. Consequently it comes—and professes to come—not from an apostle but from a church catechist. The redactor of the completed Gospel understood this perfectly. Both he and Luke treat S more cavalierly than they do the admittedly non-apostolic Gospel of Mark. Hence the composer of S should be sought among men of the type of Philip the Evangelist, with Philip himself as a real possibility.

In considering this contention of Dr. Bacon's we must, to begin with, query the statement that the first and third Evangelists are more respectful to Mark than they are to S. That they both use Mark's narrative as their framework proves nothing, for—on any reading of the evidence—the narrative in S was too slender to afford a real framework. The First Gospel undoubtedly arranges S to suit a topical plan, but it regroups Mark's miracles quite as radically. What Luke has done to the order of S we do not know; one may argue plausibly that he has preserved it almost intact. But when we turn from questions of order to the treatment of the text of S as compared with the treatment of Mark there is no room for doubt. Both the later Synoptists rewrite Mark's sections so freely that scarce a trace of his style is left in their narrative, but their revisions of S—as we can see in the Q passages—are much more conservative. Dr. Bacon has a keen sense for the "feel" of S glimmering through the present Matthaean wording; but there can be no corresponding "feel" of Mark, whose stylistic peculiarities have vanished in the retouching. And to argue from the displacement of the S Passion narrative by Mark's is to take for granted that S contained a Passion narrative.

That the "catechetical" nature of S is a proof of its non-apostolic authorship seems simply untrue. Everyone knows that the apostolic office was primarily missionary, but the apostles' responsibility did not cease when their converts were baptized. They were vitally concerned in the proper progress of these converts, and therefore in insisting on an adequate knowledge of the teaching of the "prophet like unto Moses." No doubt routine instruction was in the hands of assistants, but each apostle was

of necessity prepared to give direct teaching himself; a concrete instance appears in I Corinthians 7.

Moreover, while Dr. Bacon rightly and colorfully speaks of S as possessing the authority of the "collective church catechists," he does not observe that this statement raises a host of questions. How did these catechists first come into existence? Who taught these teachers? To what authority did they appeal as a guarantee of their accuracy? How were they corrected in their variations from the true tradition? In a word, how is it possible for us to speak of these catechists as in any way "collective"?

The answer to all these questions is the same: the first catechists depended on the apostles and above all on the Twelve, who as personal and proved disciples of Jesus were the unique authorities for his teaching. It is no accident that in Acts 1:21 if we read that Judas' successor must be something more than a witness to Jesus' resurrection; he must be one of those who "compained with us all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and went out among us, beginning from the baptism of John." An apostle in the wider sense—such as St. Paul—need not possess this qualification, but for one of the Twelve it was indispensable.

So behind any "official" teaching source the first Christians looked for more than the authority of catechists: they demanded apostolic tradition. And S was an "official" source to a very high degree. No three non-gnostic early Christians differed more than the three Synoptists, not only in their general outlook but in their geographical abodes. Yet all three based their work on S: acceptance of this document was empire wide. Lying behind S, therefore, was very high authority; an authority so high as to exclude even Philip the Evangelist. It is accordingly vastly easier to think of Matthew as this authority than to make of him a conjectural missionary to an unknown locality.

Whether Matthew was actually a member of the Twelve or not we do not know, because we do not know who were the original members of the Twelve: none of our lists agree. The number "twelve" was fixed in Christian tradition but not the composition of the group. We may agree heartily with Dr. Bacon that

to identify "Matthew" with Mark's "Levi" is precarious, since this would make the same individual bear two *Jewish* names. But if we assume that Matthew was at least closely connected with the Twelve as an apostle—in the wider sense of the term—and as a member of the group of Acts 1:21f, and that he was especially interested in supervising the catechetical teaching, we have best done justice to the facts.

Another contention of Dr. Bacon's where agreement is difficult is the constant argument that the First Gospel represents a liberal Petrine type of Jewish Christianity as contrasted with a narrower Jacobean position. This theory—which other distinguished scholars share—rests ultimately on Galatians 2:12, and assumes more or less that James throughout his life constantly refused to eat with Gentiles, while Peter was always willing. Perhaps so—although we do not really know this. Yet in any case the First Gospel never raises this particular problem. It glories in the Gentile mission, of course, but we have every reason to believe that James did the same. It accepts the salvation of believers who refused to become full Jews; in this sense we may speak of its outlook as "liberal." But once more we have every reason to believe that James' outlook was the same. Non-Christian Jews had no hesitation in holding that the Gentile "God fearers" would at least escape hell. It was usually taught, no doubt, that these Gentiles would enjoy a bliss less exalted than that given to the Jews: a theory made concrete in the prediction that Israelites reclining at the Messianic banquet would be served by these pious non-Israelites. We can scarcely believe that James held a more rigorous doctrine than this. But it is exactly this doctrine that we find in the First Gospel. It teaches that in the Kingdom only those who keep *all* the commandments will be "great," and that those who ignore even the minor commandments cannot hope to be more than "little." Indeed, to the redactor of the First Gospel there is a perpetual obligation to observe not only every Mosaic precept but the scribal additions as well. The scribes sit on Moses' seat, and all Christians are bound by their decisions. Could James have gone further than this?

Dr. Bacon, in fact, hardly attempts to reconcile Mt. 23: 2-3 with his argument on (say) pages 352ff. The content of these (admirable!) pages is in great part an exposition of the teaching of Jesus rather than that of the first Evangelist.

A few minor matters. Dr. Bacon may be correct in making Edessa or thereabouts the origin of the Gospel, but does the history of the Syriac versions allow for its origin in a Syriac-speaking environment? One would expect its immediate translation from Greek into the more common language of the country, or, at least, that some traces of it would anticipate Tatian and his Diatessaron. Dr. Bacon's use of "the synagogue" as a body with definite tenets is an anachronism. Prior to A.D. 70 the synagogues had very little centralized control, and almost anything could be taught in them. And it was not the food laws of the Pharisees that separated Jews from Gentiles; it was the food laws of the Pentateuch that did this.

After writing these criticisms I feel almost ashamed of myself; to dissent from the conclusions reached in so superb a volume appears positively ungrateful. No other living scholar in the Synoptic field can write so richly as does Dr. Bacon, or from such an astounding familiarity with every nook and cranny of the subject. I do not believe that any of Dr. Bacon's coworkers have read the *Studies in Matthew* without finding it necessary to readjust very many of their own views. Extraordinarily illuminating is his grasp on the structure of the Gospel. Equally so is his analysis of its various "books" in the light of the special purposes that give them unity; here his treatment of chapters 8-10 is particularly masterly. His continual insistence on a real connection between the canonical and the "apocryphal" literatures unifies in unexpected fashion the history of Christian thought during the first two centuries. His explanation of the steps involved in the canonization of Matthew helps clear up one of the most obscure problems of the post-apostolic age. And his eleventh chapter is one of the finest pieces of critical analysis ever devoted to the Nativity stories.

THE PERSON OF CHRIST IN THE MODERN LITERATURE CONCERNING HIS LIFE

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The modern literature, which in one way or another deals with the life of Christ, is overwhelming in its mass. No one else who ever lived awakens the popular interest which He does, and, though an endless stream of books concerning him pours from the press, each one finds readers. The application of modern historical methods of study to the Gospels has radically changed the type of book that ordinarily passes under the caption of "A Life of Christ." Nevertheless many of the older class of books remain, and some of the same type continue to be written.

Not only are historical methods applied to the study of our Lord's life, but the "*religionsgeschichtliche Methode*" and the young and self-confident science of psychology are, by different schools of writers, brought to bear in a variety of ways. Others guiltless of any method, but attracted to Jesus by admiration of some aspect of His character and teaching, real or supposed, which they imagine to uphold their favorite *ism*, paint portraits of the Master which perhaps accord as closely with the figure of the historic Christ as an impressionistic picture of a sunset accords with the subject which it portrays. The result of all this is a bewildering variety. The small part of the resulting literature which I have examined falls into ten classes or groups.

1. There is the old fashioned uncritical life of Christ, based on all four Gospels. In these all contradictions are reverently eliminated by the harmonistic method. This was the type of Life of Christ made familiar to us all in our youth. Such were the books written by Andrews, Farrar, Geikie, and Edersheim.

2. There is the historical school of writers on the Life of Christ, who by the application of the methods of historical criti-

cism to the Gospels and of elementary psychology to the understanding of the workings of our Lord's mind as those workings are portrayed in the Gospels, seek to recover a truly historical picture. This school was founded by Theodor Keim, who published his great work, *Die Geschichte Jesu von Nazara* in 3 volumes between 1867 and 1872. The line of approach followed by Keim was greatly developed by Wilhelm Baldensperger in his *Selbstbewusstsein Jesu*, the first edition of which appeared in 1888. In these works Jesus began to be understood as the Synoptic Gospels, when interpreted against the background of the religious conceptions of the first century reveal him. Subsequent investigation has proved the essential soundness of the methods of these scholars, and, while it has become fashionable in some quarters to sneer at their work, the sanest investigators in this field have followed in their footsteps. Here we may place the works of such writers as Oscar Holtzmann,¹ Wilhelm Bousset,² W. P. DuBose,³ B. W. Bacon⁴ (in three separate works), George Holly Gilbert⁵ (in two different books, though in the second of them he falls somewhat from grace), William Sanday,⁶ E. von Dobschütz,⁷ E. F. Scott,⁸ Cyril Emmet,⁹ A. W. Hitchcock,¹⁰ Charles Piepenbring,¹¹ E. I. Bosworth,¹² F. Loofs,¹³ F. C. Bur-

¹ *Das Leben Jesu*, 1901; English translation, *The Life of Jesus*, 1904.

² *Jesus*, London, 1906.

³ *The Gospel in the Gospels*, London and New York, 1914.

⁴ "The Autobiography of Jesus" in *The American Journal of Theology*, II (1898), 527-560; *Jesus the Son of God*, New Haven, 1911; *The Story of Jesus*, New York, 1927.

⁵ *The Revelation of Jesus*, New York, 1899; and *Jesus*, New York, 1912.

⁶ "Jesus Christ" in *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, II (1899), 603-653; *Outlines of the Life of Christ*, Edinburgh, 1905; *The Life of Christ in Recent Research*, 1908; and *Personality in Christ and in Ourselves*, 1911.

⁷ *The Eschatology of the Gospels*, 1910.

⁸ *The Kingdom and the Messiah*, 1911; and *The Ethical Teaching of Jesus*, 1924.

⁹ *The Eschatological Question in the Gospels*, 1911.

¹⁰ *The Psychology of Jesus*, 1907.

¹¹ *Jesus historique*, Paris, 1909; *The Historical Jesus*, New York, 1914.

¹² *The Life and Teachings of Jesus*, 1924.

¹³ *What is the Truth about Jesus Christ?*, 1913.

kitt,¹⁴ Joseph Klausner,¹⁵ and Fiske and Burton.¹⁶ True these writers differ greatly among themselves,¹⁷ but they all agree that Jesus claimed to be the Messiah and seek, each in his own way, to understand him. Klausner, who is an orthodox Jew, cannot admit that he is more than a great genius, but still, from his Jewish point of view, he makes a noble effort by such sound methods as historical science has developed, to understand him.

3. Closely related to this group is the group of consistent eschatologists, founded by the late Johannes Weiss,¹⁸ but made famous by Albert Schweitzer.¹⁹ It is in reality a small group. James Warschauer's *Historical Life of Christ*, 1927, and Walter Lowrie's *Jesus according to St. Mark*, 1929, are the only significant works to be classed with those of the two pioneers, Weiss and Schweitzer. Schweitzer gave the group the name of "Consistent Eschatologers," but they are hardly consistent among themselves. Lowrie, the latest exponent of the school, complains that Warschauer has abandoned the first principles of consistent eschatology. He sighs: "There, but for the grace of God, is the book I might have written."²⁰ Even Schweitzer, though living, as Lowrie concedes, eschatologically in Central Africa, has, in Lowrie's opinion, abandoned in his writings the consistent eschatological position.

The main characteristic of this school is that it contends that Jesus' conception of his nature and mission and of the coming of the Messianic kingdom differed in no appreciable way from conceptions current among Jewish apocalyptists, and that it was involved in the crass materialism and this-worldliness of those

¹⁴ *Christian Beginnings*, 1924.

¹⁵ *Jesus of Nazareth*, 1925.

¹⁶ *The Real Jesus*, 1929.

¹⁷ In this group belongs also the present writer's *Jesus of Nazareth, a Biography*, New York, 1922.

¹⁸ *Die Predigt Jesu vom Reich Gottes*, 1892, 2d ed., 1900.

¹⁹ *Das Messianitäts- und Leidensgeheimnis, eine Skizze des Lebens Jesu*, 1901, the second part of which was translated into English under the title *The Mystery of the Kingdom*, 1913; 2d ed., 1925; and *Von Reimarus zu Wrede*, 1906, translated into English under the title *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*, 1910.

²⁰ *Jesus according to St. Mark*, p. ix.

Jewish conceptions. A number of the scholars who belong in the preceding group have been deeply influenced by the writings of Johannes Weiss and Schweitzer; notably Sanday, E. F. Scott, and Bosworth.

4. A fourth school claims that Jesus thought of himself simply as a prophet and never claimed to be the Messiah. Schweitzer named these the "Sceptical School." The protagonist of this group was Wilhelm Wrede, whose *Messiasgeheimniss in den Evangelien*, appeared in 1901. Wrede was followed in this country by Nathaniel Schmidt, whose *Prophet of Nazareth* appeared in 1905. Later (1920), Foakes-Jackson and Kirsopp Lake took a similar position in their *Beginnings of Christianity*, Vol. I, p. 287 ff., and still more recently Shirley Jackson Case has, in his book *Jesus*, 1927, supported the same thesis. The great majority of New Testament scholars, however, rightly feel that such a view can only be maintained by discarding arbitrarily too much of the Gospel testimony, and that it leaves the origin of Christianity an insoluble enigma.

5. Since 1900 a considerable group of writers have endeavored to apply the methods of so-called comparative religion, or Religionsgeschichte, to the Gospels and to show that these documents are adumbrations of the myths of Oriental gods—Osiris, Tammuz, Marduk, Attis,—and that no such person as Jesus ever lived. The writers of this school are not all from one font. They fall into three groups. There is J. M. Robertson,²¹ sometime a member of the British Parliament, Arthur Drews,²² a teacher in a German Gymnasium, W. B. Smith,²³ professor of mathematics in Tulane University, New Orleans, Georg Brandes,²⁴ a Danish litterateur—a Jew by the way—and P. L. Couchoud,²⁵ a French writer of considerable literary ability. These men,

²¹ See his *Christianity and Mythology*, 1900; *A Short History of Christianity*, 1902; and *Pagan Christs*, 1903.

²² *Christusmythe*, Jena, 1909; *The Christ Myth*, London, 1911.

²³ *Die vorchristliche Jesus*, Jena, 1906, 2d ed., 1911; and *Ecce Deus*, Jena, 1911.

²⁴ *Jesus, a Myth*, New York, 1926.

²⁵ *Le mystère de Jésus*, Paris, 1924.

ignorant of the methods of historical research and of Gospel criticism, seem to assume that the writers of the Gospels had access to dictionaries of mythology, from which they selected such disjecta membra as suited their purpose.

The second group consists of Assyriologists; they are (or were—one of them is dead) Peter Jensen,²⁶ Hugo Winckler,²⁷ Heinrich Zimmern,²⁸ and Wilhelm Erbt.²⁹ The first three of these were eminent Assyriologists—among the foremost in the world. On the reading of a cuneiform tablet or the construction of an Akkadian, Sumerian, or Assyrian sentence they were and are authorities, but they, too, were utterly untrained in historical method. Moreover, Assyriology, like higher mathematics, is a science apart. One who devotes himself to it exclusively is cut off from common life; he lives in a world where but few share his puzzling pursuits and his knowledge. It is hard in this world to keep sane and human.³⁰ More than one Assyriologist has committed suicide. It is not strange, therefore, that the work of these men on the life of Jesus has been as fantastic and without foundation as that of the other four. One of the least conservative of our New Testament scholars has pronounced the work of the ablest of these men "elaborate bosh" and the epithet is not too strong.

Still another writer of this group, Professor Hermann Gunkel, an Old Testament scholar, must be put in a class by himself, but his work is no more convincing than that of the others.

An example of the influence of these writers upon a mind not sufficiently trained in historical criticism to distinguish true science from pseudo-science is afforded by Dr. S. D. McConnell's *Confessions of an Old Priest*, Macmillan, New York, 1922.

²⁶ *Das Gilgameshepos in der Weltliteratur*, 1906; and *Moses, Jesus, Paulus*, 1909; *Hat der Jesus der Evangelien wirklich gelebt?*, 1910.

²⁷ *Die Geschichte Israels*, II, 1900.

²⁸ In Schrader's *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 3te Auf., 1903, 377 ff.; *Zum Streit um die "Christusmythe,"* 1910; and *Zum babylonischen Neujahrsfest, zweiter Beitrag*, 1918.

²⁹ *Das Markus Evangelium*, 1911.

³⁰ This is said out of wide experience with Assyriologists and in Assyriology—a subject to which the writer has devoted a good part of his life. It is no fault of the distinguished scholars mentioned.

These writers have been ably answered by five different scholars of note: Carl Clemen, in his *Religionsgeschichtliche Erklärung des neuen Testaments*, 1909, translated into English under the title, *Primitive Christianity and its Non-Jewish Sources*, 1912; S. J. Case, in his *Historicity of Jesus*, Chicago, 1912; F. C. Conybeare, in his *Historical Christ*, 1914, Joseph Klausner, *Jesus of Nazareth*, 1924, and Maurice Goguel, *Jesus, the Nazarene*, 1926. The net result of these discussions is to establish for all sane men the historicity of our Lord's life on a sound basis for all time.

6. Still another group of writers admit that Jesus lived, and that he claimed to be the Messiah, but hold either that he was a fanatic or a paranoiac. The first of these was Friedrich Strauss, who, in the 1864 edition of his *Leben Jesu*, held Jesus to be a fanatic. Ernest Renan³¹ did not find Jesus' claim offensive, as did Strauss, but counted it as illusion similar to the illusions of Jean d'Arc. Jules Soury, *Jésus et les Évangiles*, 1878, p. 190, held that Jesus suffered from progressive paralysis of the brain. Emile Rasmussen, a Dane, in his *Jesus*, 1904, contended that Jesus was an epileptic. Dr. Georg Lomer, writing in 1905 under the name Dr. de Loosten, contended that Jesus was a paranoiac. Dr. William Hirsch, a free thinker, who knows that there is no God, in a book published in 1910, supports by arguments all his own Lomer's thesis. Finally, Binet-Sanglé, a French Jew, in a work of four volumes, entitled *La Folie de Jesus*, 1908-1915, containing 1914 pages, argues that Jesus was the son of Joseph who was a drunkard, that Jesus, starting with a degenerate inheritance, became a paranoiac, a megalomaniac, a theomegalomaniac, and an hysterio-theomegalomaniac.³² Needless to say these works have called out numerous replies, four

³¹ *La vie de Jesu*, Paris, 1863; English translations, 1864 and 1898; German translation, 1895. See p. 186, English edition.

³² It is worthy of note that those who question the sanity of our Lord base much of their argument on material drawn from the Fourth Gospel. New Testament experts no longer regard this Gospel as a historical source, but consider it a theological interpretation, which stands, in its thought, midway between the historical Jesus of the Synoptic Gospels and the Christ of the Nicene creed.

of which are worthy of mention. These are Hermann Werner's *Die psychische Gesundheit Jesu*, 1908; H. Schaefer's *Jesus in psychiatrischer Beleuchtung*, 1908; A. Schweitzer's *Die psychiatrische Beurteilung Jesu*, 1913; and W. E. Bundy, *The Psychical health of Jesus*, 1922. In these works the psychical health of our Lord is clearly established by historico-critical and medical and psychological experts, and the superficial and slipshod methods of those who had attacked it are exposed. As in the matter of his historical existence, the raising of the question and its settlement by clear scholarly and historical investigation, is a distinct gain for the security of the Christian faith. The religionsgeschichtliche and the psychiatric writers on the Life of Christ belong to the pseudo-scientific fringe of scholarship, but the settlement of the questions they have raised, and the exposure of the vanity of all such attempts is a distinct advantage to Christian apologetic.

7. Still another class of writers on our Lord's life are the psychological disintegrators of it. To mention only works in English, we have G. Stanley Hall's *Jesus, the Christ, in the Light of Psychology*, New York, 1917, and Georges Berguer's *Some Aspects of the Life of Jesus*, New York, 1923 (translated from the French). Apparently both these writers started out with the intention of ascertaining wherein the workings of the mind of Jesus were like the workings of the minds of other men, and wherein His mind differed, so that an appraisal of His Person could be made, but in reality they study the psychology of His followers more than they do that of Jesus Himself, and explain why certain beliefs concerning him arose to satisfy the psychological demands of early Christians. Neither writer is well equipped for work in the field of historical criticism, though in this respect Stanley Hall is far the weaker of the two. These works have had little influence.

8. There is a group of impressionistic "Lives" of Christ—books written by earnest men who are not Biblical scholars, who see one aspect of the Master's character or teaching and try so to portray his life as to make that appear the dominating feature.

Such are Papini's *Life of Christ*, Bruce Barton's *The Man Whom Nobody Knows*, and the sketch of Christ in Karl Kautsky's *Foundations of Christianity*, New York, 1925. To Papini Christ was a socialist; to Bruce Barton, a glorified advertising man; to Kautsky, a communist, a champion of the proletariat, and a rebel. Such books doubtless influence the throng more than volumes of greater scientific worth, but they add nothing to serious theological thought.

9. In still another class Rudolf Bultmann's *Jesus*, Berlin, 1926, is placed, though but for one thing, it might be placed in our fourth group—the sceptical school. Bultmann is one of the advocates of what is known as “form criticism”—a school which holds that a very large proportion of the material in the Gospels had its origin in the exigencies of the life of the early Church, and accordingly that it reveals to us what the Church found it convenient to believe rather than what Jesus either did or said. With this radical view he endeavors to combine belief in the theology of Karl Barth. The union is not altogether harmonious. In his picture of Jesus, however, the radical critic has triumphed over the theologian, and he pictures Jesus as a Jewish Rabbi. To Bultmann He is not even a prophet.

10. Lastly a word should, perhaps, be said about Robert Norwood's *Man Who Dared to be God*—a book which fits into no modern category, but belongs with the New Testament Apocrypha of the third and fourth centuries. The author draws a considerable part of his material from his own inventive imagination as freely as did the pious apocryphists of old, and, like them, gives no hint that his inventions are not historical facts. It may be, as one reviewer has said, a poet's interpretation of Christ; it is certainly not the interpretation of a trained historian.

In this summary but a small fraction of the hundreds of “Lives” of Christ have been mentioned, but it is believed that attention has been called to the principal types. From such a survey it is clear that the greater number of real scholars are to be found in the second group. It follows from this that there is a general consensus of opinion among expert New Testament

scholars that Jesus claimed to be the Messiah. The really serious scholars who hold that He was only a prophet or a rabbi are in a hopeless minority. Probably on no question in any branch of science is there a greater consensus of opinion among those who have a right to be called experts than there is among New Testament scholars on this point.

Further, it is now established by a similar consensus of opinion that Jesus' chosen self-designation was "The Son of Man"—a term which proves that in His own thought Jesus allied himself with the heavenly Messianic Son of Man of the Enoch-parables, rather than with the Son-of-David type of Messiah. The attempts of H. Lietzmann³³ and of Nathaniel Schmidt³⁴ to show that *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* of the Gospels was a misunderstanding of the Aramaic *bar nasha*, which could mean only "human being"—a view at one time accepted by Wellhausen—has been finally and successfully answered by G. Dalman³⁵ and Paul Fiebig.³⁶ The results of Dalman and Fiebig have been assumed by most recent interpreters, whose theory of the Person of Jesus did not lead them to persist in the other view. Such scholars are Burkitt,³⁷ E. F. Scott,³⁸ Cyril W. Emmet,³⁹ and B. W. Bacon⁴⁰—to mention only a few. True, Bacon is so disgusted with the eschatological school of writers that he makes his admission grudgingly, and would like to think that Jesus' conception of Himself was compounded of a Messianic claim of the Son-of-David type and a mission similar to that of the Suffering Servant of Isaiah, but he nevertheless makes the admission. He is too good and candid a scholar not to do so. That our Lord did claim to be the Messiah, and that he employed as His self-designation the term "Son of Man," which had been employed in

³³ *Der Menschensohn*, Freiburg, 1896.

³⁴ "Son of Man" in *The Encyclopædia Biblica*, 1903.

³⁵ *Die Worte Jesu*, Leipzig, 1898; *The Words of Jesus*, Edinburgh, 1902, ch. IX.

³⁶ *Der Menschensohn*, Tübingen, 1901.

³⁷ *Christian Beginnings*, London, 1924, p. 30 f.

³⁸ *The Kingdom and the Messiah*, Edinburgh, 1911, p. 194 ff.

³⁹ *The Eschatological Question of the Gospels*, Edinburgh, 1911, p. 20 ff.

⁴⁰ *The Story of Jesus*, New York, 1927, p. 264 ff.

Daniel and Enoch with such heavenly connotations, and, in the case of Enoch, with belief in pre-existence, may be taken as an established fact. That this is of great importance to Christian theology, will be pointed out presently. Before doing so, however, a word should be said of the investigations of Reitzenstein into the nature and origin of the figure, "Anthropos," in the syncretistic thought of Western Asia and North Africa, and its possible bearing on the figure of the Son of Man in Jewish thought. Professor Karl H. Kraeling has made it possible for English readers to do this easily by his book *Anthropos*, Columbia University Press, 1927.⁴¹

Reitzenstein has made it probable that this figure, which appears in Gnosticism, Manichæism, and among the Mandæans, was an adaptation from an early Zoroastrian figure, Gayomart, from whom, in the crude cosmology of ancient Persia, mankind had been created: that before being taken up into the various forms of Gnostic speculation, the tradition had passed through Babylonia, where Gayomart had undergone transformation by being identified with the god Marduk; that later, it took different forms in different circles, but that in one of the very early forms it entered Jewish thought and became the figure of the "Son of Man" in Daniel and Enoch. To those familiar with the syncretistic thought of Western Asia during this period all this is quite believable. If this be true, the Jewish conception of the pre-existent Son of Man, who is to come from heaven to earth for the establishment of the Kingdom of God was one form of the varied conception by which the thought of Western Asia for centuries explained satisfactorily to itself the mystery of man's origin and destiny. In Judaism it was made a part of that syncretistic system known as apocalyptic eschatology—a theory of the universe which for three hundred years seemed to bring men into touch with reality, as now the theory of evolution seems to bring us. It is not the origin of these conceptions, but the use made of them by our Lord that is of particular interest.

⁴¹ In addition to the work of Kraeling the English-speaking reader should also consult Luigi Salvatorelli's article "From Locke to Reitzenstein; the Historical Investigation of the Origins of Christianity," in the *Harvard Theological Review*, Vol. XXII, 263-370 (Oct. 1929).

As shown above, the evidence that Jesus claimed to be the Messiah and called Himself the Son of Man is so overwhelming that it is now admitted by all but a negligible minority of scholars. This means that He found in His own nature depths which justified Him in making the claim and in employing the designation in full knowledge of the heavenly, divine, or supernormal connotation of the terms. There is thus presented to us a spiritual basis for the faith in the super-human character of the Person of Christ which the Church has always possessed from the days of the first Apostles until now. That spiritual basis, is our Lord's own consciousness of what He was. While this basis has been present in the Gospels from the time of their composition, modern historical study has established it afresh as an historical fact, modern psychology has enabled us to appreciate its significance as never before, and the study of the best religious experiences of the race help us to place it in such perspective that some new vision may be gained of the Incarnation—of how God came in such fullness into a human life.

The evidence clearly shows that our Lord's consciousness was supernormal. As we have seen, that fact has led some to leap to the conclusion that his psychical life was abnormal or diseased. A study of the psychic history of the founders of religions and of the great mystics—those who have lifted human thought, endeavor, and life to higher levels—shows that none of them conformed to that commonplace average of psychical life which we call normal. Most of them saw visions and heard voices. Moses at Sinai, Isaiah in the Temple, the young Jeremiah at Anathoth, Ezekiel by the Chebar, Gautama under his Bo-tree, St. Paul near Damascus and elsewhere, St. Augustine at Milan, St. Bernard, Eckhardt, Suso, Tauler, Ruysbroeck, St. Catherine of Siena, St. Catherine of Genoa, St. Theresa, Ignatius, St. John of the Cross, George Fox, Mohammed, Kabir, Nanak, and Sundar Singh,⁴²—to mention but a few—all these have possessed

⁴² The biographical literature concerning these persons is extensive. In collaboration with one of his former students, the writer is preparing a *Hand Book of Comparative Mysticism* in which the salient facts about these and many others may be easily consulted.

unusual psychical and nervous constitutions; they have seen visions and heard voices, but they have brought back from the beyond spiritual messages of greater or lesser clearness; they have delivered these messages with a degree of certainty and power not possessed by souls less highly gifted, and have lifted those who came under their sway to higher experiences, to loftier moral endeavor, and to nobler levels of life.

True, many others have possessed the power of seeing visions and of hearing voices and have been but lunatics, but the genuine may be detected and distinguished from the diseased and spurious by the ethical and spiritual quality of their lives. "By their fruits ye shall know them."

Materialistic psychologists, like Leuba,⁴³ explain all such experiences as the results of suppressed or unsatisfied sexual impulse, but such as he have been satisfactorily answered by competent psychologists.⁴⁴ The fact is that there is no way of gaining a knowledge of God except through the human mind; there is no way of communing with Him except through the human soul. If ever there has entered the realms of human experience any revelation from that great beyond which we call God, it has come through souls like those of Moses, Isaiah, and St. Paul. The souls of the great mystics have been the radios through which God has spoken. In a paper published some years ago, the writer gathered evidence from the Gospels that the psychical and nervous constitution of our Lord conformed to the mystic type.⁴⁵ It confirms our faith in the Source of the lesser revelations to know that, when God would put Himself into a human life to the fullest extent that such a life is capable of receiving Him, He

⁴³ *The Psychology of Religious Mysticism*, New York, 1925; also the *Atlantic Monthly*, January, 1927, pp. 71-80.

⁴⁴ Cf. *Modern Psychology and the Validity of Christian Experience*, by Cyril H. Valentine, London, 1926 and *Recent Religious Psychology* by A. R. Uren, Edinburgh, 1928. Although written before Leuba's book, the following works of Professor James B. Pratt should also be consulted: *The Psychology of Religious Belief*, 1907; *The Religious Consciousness*, 1920; and *Matter and Spirit*, 1922.

⁴⁵ "The Mysticism of Jesus" in *At One with the Invisible*, edited by E. Hershey Sneath, New York, 1921.

made the Psychic constitution of Him who was at once Son of Man and Son of God conform to this mystic type. While, then, the Messianic consciousness of Jesus is without parallel in the annals of sane human beings, the experiences of the mystics present lesser analogies which, however remote from His, conform sufficiently to type to enable us, as we study Him, to understand dimly, as the ancients could not, what Incarnation involves. It involves a real humanity—real on the psychical as well as the bodily side⁴⁶—but filled with a consciousness of a transcendent oneness with God.

The sanity of this supernormal consciousness of Jesus is guaranteed by His ethical and spiritual teaching. No one has ever spoken so truly of God, of man, and of the way of life. To Him we are indebted for the world's best conception of God; its truest conception of man; its best ethical ideals; and its noblest example of a spiritual life. The explanation of His ability to do all this is His God-consciousness—a consciousness which he expressed through the term Son of Man, the nature of which was suggested to His contemporaries by that superhuman figure, the origin of which in the syncretistic thought of Western Asia we are just beginning to understand. As a first century man, Jesus naturally expressed His consciousness in first century ways, just as a twentieth century man expresses his in twentieth century ways, but that in no way casts doubt on the consciousness expressed. His matchless life and incomparable teachings are guarantees of the validity of that consciousness. By His fruits we know Him.

At this point it may not be out of place to pause a moment to answer a misunderstanding expressed by so eminent a thinker as Rudolf Otto, who declares:⁴⁷ "We can obviously get no help from the painful and fundamentally impossible inquiries, so often

⁴⁶ The reality of the human consciousness of our Lord is presupposed by St. Paul (Phil. 2: 5-11), St. Luke (Luke 2: 52), and by the author of the Gospel of St. Matthew (Matt. 24: 36). It is in St. John's Gospel and the creeds that His Divinity is so exalted that the humanity, though asserted, seems to become unreal. In the fourth century this culminated in the heretical teaching of the younger Apollonaris who denied that Jesus had a human soul, claiming that the *Logos* took, in Him, the place of a soul.

⁴⁷ *Das Heilige*, 1923, p. 176 f.; *The Idea of the Holy*, Oxford, 1925, p. 160.

started into Jesus' consciousness of himself. They are impossible, if for no other reason, because the evidence at our disposal is neither sufficient in quantity nor appropriate to such a purpose. . . . The immediate, intuitive 'divination' of which we are speaking would indeed *not* come as a result of such statements by the prophet about himself, however complete; they can arouse a belief in his authority, but cannot bring about the peculiar experience of spontaneous insight that here is something holy and manifest. 'We have heard him ourselves and know that this is indeed the Christ' (St. John iv, 42)."

Otto is clearly wrong in his statement that knowledge of Jesus' self-consciousness is impossible. True, we do not know all that we should like to know about it, but we do have clear evidence that He claimed more than a human consciousness, and to know that, is indeed much. Otto grants that that knowledge on Jesus' part would arouse belief in His authority—the very point which we are urging. Otto is quite right in saying that knowledge of this claim of Jesus cannot of itself produce in us or take the place of that spontaneous insight which he calls 'divination'—a term by which he seeks to express the mystic sense that we are in the presence of One that is holy. In other words, mere authority can never take the place of religious experience. When, however, we have for ourselves had insight into the Divine in Jesus, and have felt in our inner life the mystic power of His presence, it is reassuring to know what He Himself was conscious that He was. Such knowledge, coming as objective confirmation of our insight, gives us greater confidence that He whom we have heard is indeed the Christ.

It thus happens that the modern study of the Life of Christ has given us the basis of a new apologetic. Formerly apologists relied upon the miracles—a prop that has now very largely ceased to sustain. While it is true that the work of Einstein and the other physicists has broken down the dogma of the absolute fixity of nature,⁴⁸ and, as interpreted by Eddington, has shown that

⁴⁸ Cf. A. S. Eddington, *The Nature of the Physical World*, New York, 1929, Ch. II.

the one real thing in the universe is consciousness, so opening the way for personality and miracle, the fact remains that, when we try to prove any particular material miracle by historical evidence, the evidence proves to be such as we would not accept with reference to an alleged fact in any other religion. Instead of being props, the modern clergyman finds that in the minds of his educated hearers the miracles need themselves to be propped. Spiritual authority should, however, rest upon spiritual evidence; and that spiritual evidence we have in the consciousness of Jesus Christ as to what He was. Indeed, we have no guarantee that the world-wide assumption that piety and spirituality guarantee to a man the power of working nature-miracles is at all true. It was a part of the animistic theory of the universe held by all races at a certain stage of culture, but which gives way before a truer knowledge of the universe.

But whether ethical insight and spiritual power have or have not ever been substitutes for the mechanical devices of an Edison, a Pupin, or a Marconi in working wonders in nature, the Messianic consciousness of Jesus Christ stands as a spiritual fact, linking Him, in a unique way with God, guaranteeing His Person, His teaching, His authority. It was this spiritual Reality that the author of the Fourth Gospel interpreted as the Logos, thus giving it a cosmic interpretation; it was this spiritual Reality that the Councils of Nicaea, Constantinople, and Chalcedon endeavored to explain in terms of Greek philosophy.

In the last analysis, too, it is this consciousness of our Lord which affords our best evidence of the existence of God. There are arguments from nature and from design; the doctrine of evolution, if true, reveals God to us as possessing at least these two qualities of personality, intelligence and purposive will. One of the latest authoritative pronouncements in science is this: "Recognizing that the physical world is entirely abstract and without 'actuality' apart from its linkage to consciousness, we restore consciousness to the fundamental position instead of representing it as an inessential complication occasionally found in the midst of inorganic nature at a late stage of evolutionary

history.”⁴⁹ This seems to mean that the consciousness of God is a prerequisite to the existence of the physical universe. Physics in the hands of Einstein, Eddington, and others, thus, like the book of Genesis, is saying “In the beginning God,” for the one consciousness antedating all other things, and giving to physical substances their reality, can only be the consciousness of that Being whom religious men call God.

It is just here that our Lord’s supernatural consciousness of God as Father—a Being righteous, pure, holy, loving, tender even to the falling sparrow—comes to our aid and assures us that God is more than infinite intelligence and all-powerful will—that, in all those qualities, ethical and spiritual, which the heart of man yearns to find in his Maker, God surpasses our highest imaginings. We come away, then, from the study of the theological results of modern critical study of the Life of Christ, saying with the author of the Fourth Gospel: “No man hath ever seen God; the only begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, He hath interpreted Him.” We have travelled a different road, but we have reached a goal which, for the minds of our generation, is the religious equivalent of his.

⁴⁹ A. S. Eddington, *op. cit.*, p. 332.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

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In the six months that have elapsed since the last publication of these *Notes* the necrology list has swelled to distressing proportions.

Sir Thomas Walker Arnold, born in 1864, spent much of his active life in India, was at one time Dean of the Oriental Faculty of Punjab University and from 1917 to 1920 was educational adviser to the Secretary of State for India. He was an expert in Mohammedan matters and wrote his *Preaching of Islam* in 1896. Otherwise his published work dealt chiefly with Mohammedan—especially Persian—art.

George Forrest Browne, sometime Bishop of Bristol (1897–1914) had very nearly completed a century of life, for he was born as long ago as 1833. Bishop Browne specialized in the history of the Anglo-Saxon church on which he wrote voluminously; curiously enough his first and almost his last volumes in this field (1879 and 1919) were both entitled *The Venerable Bede*. A determined popularizer, he wrote with an easy style that gave him a wide circle of readers by no means extinct today.

Bernard Duhm, born in 1847, was a close friend of Julius Wellhausen, whose junior he was by only three years; in fact they both opened their teaching careers at Göttingen where they were together in 1871, Wellhausen as a Privatdozent and Duhm as a Repetent. But while Wellhausen bent his energies chiefly to the Pentateuch and to the history of Israel, Duhm took as his field the Prophets, publishing his *Theologie der Propheten* in 1875. His great reputation, however, was made by his *Isaiah* in 1892 (revised ten years later) which in a very real sense has been the basis for all subsequent work on the same theme. And his *Psalms* (1898; revised 1922) is hardly less famous, while he wrote other commentaries on Job (1896), Jeremiah (1901) and Habakkuk

(1906). In 1916 his *Israels Propheten* summarized his work more or less as a whole.

Julius von Grill, born in 1840, was a contemporary of Wellhausen and Duhm in Old Testament studies, but he turned his attention more to Oriental religions in general, going so far as in 1910 to publish a translation of Lao-Tze from the Chinese. He was interested also in early Christianity, writing a work on the origin of the Fourth Gospel—whose two parts were separated by twenty-one years (1902 and 1923), a study of the influence of the Persian mysteries on Christianity (1903) and a well-known little book *Der Primat des Petrus* (1904).

The career of Adolf von Harnack, born in 1851, was so extraordinarily fruitful that only the briefest summary can be attempted. There were really three Harnacks, the research historian, the Ritschlian historian and the Ritschlian theologian. In the first of these aspects Harnack's activity was nothing short of overwhelming, culminating in his tremendous *Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius* (1893–1897), which formed in a sense the prolegomenon to the Berlin edition of the Greek Fathers. This was of course a work whose appeal was exclusively to technical scholars, so Harnack is probably better known through his *Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums* (1902), which was immediately translated into English. His other historical monographs, which touched every phase of early Christianity, were poured forth in a steady stream for nearly sixty years: a mere list of the titles makes by itself a fair-sized volume. Those that attracted the greatest attention were the series devoted to the New Testament, beginning with *Lukas der Arzt* in 1906, which were characterized by a conservative soberness so marked that the question was asked "Is Harnack too among the apologists?" Harnack's last important volume was his *Marcion* (1921; revised 1924), which will long remain the standard work on its subject. In addition to all this he found time to act as general editor of the *Texte und Untersuchungen* series, as active editor of the *Theologische Literaturzeitung*—for which he wrote constantly—and as General Director of the Berlin Library, to-

gether with many other occupations—of which some were not unconnected with politics. It may seriously be questioned if any adequate parallel to his career can be found in the whole history of theology.

Harnack was throughout his life a determined Ritschlian. Traces of his position are evident in much of his most objective scholarship—especially perhaps in his Marcion—but in his monumental *Dogmengeschichte* (1886–89) he gave Ritschlianism a free rein. We realize now that the resulting distortion of the history of the early church was not as extreme as was thought thirty years ago, but Harnack was constitutionally incapable of doing justice to medieval thought, while all his life mysticism was to him a closed book—and a repellent one. Another and somewhat curious product of his Ritschlianism was his continued opposition to the establishment of a chair in comparative religion at the University of Berlin; the Ritschlian argument ran, “Since we have the perfect religion, why should we study others?” None the less when in 1910 Professor Lehmann was finally called to fill the newly created chair, he received Harnack’s unfailing and ever courteous support.

Harnack’s chief Ritschlian manifesto, however, was his *Wesen des Christentums*, lectures published in 1900; they have gone through countless German editions and have been translated into at least fifteen different languages. His theory was that from the first Christianity contained a “kernel” of eternal value, enclosed in a “husk” of temporarily conditioned concepts, and that it is our duty to distinguish the two. In making the distinction, however, Harnack exposed himself rather seriously to the charge of using his own inclinations as the criterion; he certainly allowed his admiration for Ritschl to be the deciding factor in defining Christianity’s purest “essence.” One result of the lectures—which the author certainly did not foresee—was to set in action the modernistic movement in the Roman Catholic Church, beginning with Dr. Loisy’s *L’Évangile et l’Église* (1902).

Jesse Lyman Hurlbut, born in 1843, a prominent Methodist clergyman, attained a great reputation as a popularizer of Biblical material.

William Holden Hutton, Dean of Winchester, was born in 1860. The first fifty years of his life were spent in academic life, chiefly at Oxford, with church history—particularly English church history—as his specialty. In 1911 he was appointed Archdeacon of Northampton, a position that he held for eight years, in 1919 going to Winchester. His list of publications is very extensive and many of his works are familiar everywhere, such as his *Short History of the Church in Great Britain*, *The Church of the Sixth Century*, *The English Church 1625-1714* (Volume vi of the Stephens & Hunt series), *The Church and the Barbarians*, with many biographical studies. In 1903 he was Bampton Lecturer, choosing as his subject *The English Saints*. Dr. Hunt was always faithful to the English historical tradition of exact knowledge expressed in a polished style.

Edvard Lehmann, born in 1862, was mentioned above in speaking of Harnack. A native of Denmark he was made Dozent at the University of Copenhagen in 1900, where he acquired a high reputation for his knowledge of primitive religion. His first work *Hedenske Monoteisme* (1897) was followed by *Zarathustra* (1899-1902), *Mystik i Hedenskap og Kristendom* (1904; translated into German), *Buddha* (1907), etc. When in 1910 the University of Berlin established its first chair in comparative religion, there was no German scholar competent to undertake the task, and the call consequently went to Dr. Lehmann. Two years later he published a standard text-book on his subject (*Textbuch zur Religionsgeschichte*; revised 1922). After the death of Chantepie de la Saussaye in 1920 the posthumous edition of his universally known *Lehrbuch* was entrusted to Dr. Lehmann and Dr. Bertholet.

William Andrew Leonard, born in 1848, was at the time of his death the senior bishop in active service of the Episcopal Church. In his middle life he interested himself in church history, and his *History of the Christian Church* (1878; often reprinted) is still in use.

George Preston Mains, born in 1844, was like Dr. Hurlbut a prominent Methodist clergyman deeply interested in popularizing. His special field, however, was apologetics.

Eduard Meyer, born in 1855, ranked among the very highest in the field of ancient history, with an amazing ability of acquiring a specialist's technique in all manner of unrelated fields. This was especially evident in his three volumes entitled *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums* (1920-1922), where he displayed a mastery in the synoptic problem that might well be the envy of most professional students of the Gospels. Among his other books impinging on the field of theology may be mentioned *Entstehung des Judentums* (1896), *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme* (1906) and *Der Papyrusfund von Elephantine* (1912).

William Charles Edmund Newbolt, Canon and Chancellor of St. Paul's Cathedral, was born in 1844, and spent nearly all his life in the active ministry. His high reputation, consequently, was principally as a preacher and devotional writer, and a large part of his literary output consisted of sermons. His best known books were pastoral in character: *Speculum Sacerdotum* (1883), *Priestly Ideals* (1898) and *Priestly Blemishes* (1902). In theology he was known as "The last of the Tractarians."

Ernest Harold Pearce, Bishop of Worcester since 1919, was born in 1865. After a teaching career he spent eight years at Westminster Abbey (1911-1919) and was Sub-Dean at the time of his elevation to the episcopate. His works were largely antiquarian, and two of them—*The Monks of Westminster* (1916) and *Walter de Wenlok* (1920)—were devoted to the Abbey.

Eduard Sachau was born in 1845, was educated as an Orientalist and opened his career as Professor of Semitic Languages at Vienna in 1869, when he was only twenty-four years old. He made several expeditions to Mesopotamia and a large part of his voluminous publications are devoted to the results. *His Chronik von Arbela* (1915), *Vom Christentum in der Persis* (1916) and *Zur Ausbreitung des Christentums in Asien* (1919) are practically pioneer works in a very difficult field.

Julius Smend, Professor of Practical Theology at Münster, was born in 1857. His work is comparatively little known in English speaking countries, as it was almost entirely concerned with the

worship of German Protestantism, but in his specialty he ranked very high.

The date of Henry St. John Thackeray's birth is not available, but he was about sixty years old. His specialty was Hellenistic Greek, and in 1898 he translated the *Grammar of New Testament Greek* by Blass. Two years later came his *Relation of St. Paul to Contemporary Jewish Thought* and in 1909 his *Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek*; a very important work. The latter part of his life he devoted to the study of Josephus, of whom he acquired an extraordinarily thorough knowledge, succeeding for the first time in distinguishing between the work of the various collaborators whom the Jewish historian employed. He edited Josephus for the *Loeb Classical Library* and published three of the volumes, beginning in 1926. He was at work also on what was planned to be a virtual concordance to Josephus' works; posthumous publication of this appears to be assured.

Cuthbert Hamilton Turner was born in 1860, and spent his entire adult life in Oxford, from 1888 to 1901 being assistant lecturer to William Bright in ecclesiastical history. His interests were patristic and found their chief expression in his infinitely painstaking *Ecclesiae Occidentalis Monumenta Iuris Antiquissima* (1899-1913). Apart from a volume on the early history of the creeds (1906), his editorship of the *Journal of Theological Studies* for the first three years of its existence (1899-1902) and a couple of minor works, Dr. Turner's literary reputation rests otherwise on monographs contributed to cooperative undertakings. His "Chronology of the New Testament" (1898) and "Greek Patristic Commentaries on the Pauline Epistles" (1904) in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible* left practically nothing unsaid. His "Text of the New Testament" in Murray's *Concise Dictionary of the Bible* (1908) is a marvellous piece of condensation, and the same is true of his "Organization of the Church" in the first volume of the *Cambridge Medieval History* (1911). In 1918 he contributed "Apostolic Succession" to Swete's *Essays on the Early History of the Church*; its extraordinary objectivity made this essay a mine of resource to those whose theological position

clashed sharply with Dr. Turner's pronounced Anglo-Catholicism. In 1920 he was appointed Ireland Professor of Exegesis at Oxford, with results that were perhaps not of the best; Dr. Turner's attitude to New Testament historical criticism was one of general antagonism, and his "Saint Mark" in Bishop Gore's *Commentary* (1928) is as conservative as the work of Dr. Swete. His talents were patristic and textual.

For many years Dr. Turner was at work on the Acts volume for the *International Critical Commentary*, and two or three years ago he was given the assistance of Canon H. N. Bate to aid in its completion. The latter will presumably finish the work.

BOOK REVIEWS

Hebrew Religion. Its Origin and Development. By W. O. E. Oesterley and Theodore H. Robinson. The Macmillan Company, 1930, pp. xxiv + 400. \$2.50.

The reader is certain to look for a good book from the authors because of their previous work and their reputation. He will find it among the very best modern works upon the subject.

One particularly valuable feature is the relation of the Hebrew to other religions. It is difficult to grasp the primitive religion of Israel without the realization that with their emergence from a Semitic stock they brought a religion with them, and while this was altered tremendously in the development of the worship of Yahweh, some of the common elements were preserved for a long time, though usually reinterpreted in accordance with higher ideas. Then in the later days when the Hebrews came in close contact with other nations, their religion was certainly affected, even though it is often difficult to say exactly what was borrowed.

Another feature of this book is that about as much space is devoted to religious thought as to religious institutions. Hence we find a considerable treatment of the teaching of the prophets.

It is always easy to note doubtful conclusions or omissions. It is strange to find a discussion of the deutero-Isaiah without a reference even in a footnote to the important contribution by Torrey. But perhaps the most serious error is too closely following traditional ideas in regard to Moses, regarding him as one who founded a nation and established a national religion which was accepted by the whole people of Israel. The influence of Moses was ultimately very great, but the seed he planted took a long time to grow to the point where it bore much fruit.

L. W. BATTEN.

The Epic of the Old Testament. Selected Passages Arranged in Chronological Sequence with their Historic Background. By Arthur H. Wood. Oxford University Press, 1930, pp. xviii + 224. \$2.00.

The author's aim is by the selection of the finest and most significant passages, connected by a continuous thread of historical

introduction, to familiarize the reader with the outline of the Old Testament, and to interest him in it as a part of the great literature of the world. The form of the book, its typography and binding, are very attractive. The arrangement of the text in normal rhetorical paragraphs (the chapter and verse numbers do not even appear in the margin) helps greatly to remove that impression of unreality of which the modern reader complains in the Bible printed in the traditional manner.

The passages are, on the whole, well selected. The chronological arrangement is based on the conservative historical criticism represented, for example, by the Westminster Commentaries. The selections from the Prophets gain greatly in interest by being quoted in their historical context as part of the narrative, instead of forming a separate section. The Wisdom Books, on the other hand, are simply taken together, as coming from some time after the Return, and the passages from them are grouped by subject matter. The text is in the main that of the English Revised Version, but from the Creation story (P) to the accession of David Mr. Wood utilizes, in chronological order, each of the English Versions from Wyclif to 1885.

This gives a very interesting picture of the growth of the English Bible, though the picture is incomplete, as it fails to include any of the attempts at a version in modern English. Considering, however, that the book is addressed to the layman, it is unfortunate that a modern translation was not used throughout. It is almost certain that the average man, finding at the start, "In the firste mad God of noȝt hevене and erthe. The erthe forsothe was veyn with ynne and void," will not have the patience to read on for twenty-seven pages to where the understandable English begins. It is a pity that what might have been a very useful book should fail of its purpose through the scholar's irresistible temptation to be scholarly.

MARSHALL M. DAY.

Synoptische Studien. By Wilhelm Bussmann. Halle, Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1929. 2 volumes, pp. viii + 240, iv + 213. Marks 15 + 13.

In his first volume Dr. Bussmann by a process of close analysis recovers a Grundschrift in the Gospel of Mark, which consists

practically of the Gospel as a whole, minus small details in which the Evangelist's hand is fairly evident and plus a certain amount of Q matter. The chiefest large omissions of Markan sections are 6: 45-8: 26, 9: 40-50, 10: 1-12, 11: 12-14 and 19-25, and about everything in chapter 13 except the Little Apocalypse. The result really leaves Mark as a source for Jesus' ministry just about where it was before the critical analysis.

In the second volume the Sayings are resolved into two sources, printed in full on pages 137-149. The former source is approximately the conventional Q, the latter consists of L material with a few sentences that most analysts would refer to Q: Dr. Bussmann thinks that I was used by Luke and Matthew in a Greek translation already made, while II they translated independently from the Aramaic. Both are older than Mark's Grundschrift and both are trustworthy sources for the teaching of Jesus.

Dr. Bussmann works in the broad stream of synoptic tradition and keeps in constant touch with the results of other scholars, both of the past and of the present. His research is highly painstaking and he does not shrink from the labor of building up long lists of characteristic words and phrases. No doubt his results are a little too simple, but no worker in the synoptic field can afford to pass by so patient and sincere a piece of investigation.

BURTON SCOTT EASTON.

The Authority of Jesus. By Bertram Lee Woolf. New York: R. R. Smith, 1930, pp. 301.

"The present study contains the substance of a thesis accepted by the University of Edinburgh for the degree of Ph.D. in Theology." These words of the Preface give the reason for the rather scholastic form of this volume, which is arranged according to a lucid but almost too painstaking a plan. The initial problem, of course, is to define "authority," and the opening chapter discusses the subject under no less than twenty-three heads, with the conclusion: "The discovery of the ultimate authority is the discovery of final freedom really to live our lives" (page 39). Part I, "Analytical," then investigates the Gospel conceptions of Jesus'

authority under nine heads, "Son of God," "Lord," "Son of Man," "Messiah," "Sanctioned by Scripture," "Sanctioned by Miracles," "Prophet" and "Person." And, since four Evangelists and the two major sources Q and L have to be taken into consideration, this investigation is carried through six times.

Part II, "Synthetical," then rediscusses the problem from the modern point of view; this time under five heads, "Personality," "Messiahship," "Lord," "Son," and "Sinlessness." As regards the personality Dr. Woolf is content to sum up in the words of Berguer, "The life of Jesus constitutes . . . the point of departure and the most powerful force that has ever been given to human individuals to assist them in effecting the sublimation towards which they aspire" (page 208). The Messiahship Dr. Woolf does not regard as important, except in so far as it is "an aspect of a larger and a permanent issue, namely, of the place of Jesus in the providential order" (page 219). The Lordship to the earliest church meant—apart from some excesses such as glosolalia—"a momentum which is derived from [men's] immediate, plastic, mystic communion with Jesus" (page 231). "Sonship" Dr. Woolf declines to interpret in other than ethical terms: "It is because we experience through Christ the authority of God, and find in His life the very challenge of God, that we find in Him the Son of God" (page 244). "Sinlessness" gives rise to a rather lengthy chapter, which returns to a detailed "analytical" investigation of historical conceptions, and which experiences—naturally enough—considerable difficulty in framing an adequate modern definition for "sinlessness." Dr. Woolf finally achieves this sentence: "It is because that refined and educated sensibility finds its greatest satisfaction and its highest joy in contemplating Him and the harmony of His whole life that we can do no other than call Him the sinlessly perfect One" (page 278). And he concludes: "In following Him, we pass from darkness into God's marvellous light, and in that light we experience once more the authority of His sinless perfection" (page 281).

Dr. Woolf's attitude, accordingly, is that of a very able and devoted Ritschlian; one may doubt, in fact, if Ritschlianism can

be more devoutly and persuasively stated. The only criticism that need be made is to point out, with some regret, that Dr. Woolf is too apt to read Ritschilian values back explicitly into Jesus' mind. We find, for instance, on pages 106-107: "The apocalyptic conception of the Son of Man is of negligible and even negative importance in the Gospel of Mark." "Jesus tacitly accepts the designation [Messiah] but regards it as a secret doctrine and of no value to the public generally, possibly indeed as inimical to His work and purpose." Here Dr. Woolf is less than fair to history.

BURTON SCOTT EASTON.

Jesus and the Law of Moses. By Bennett Harvie Branscomb. New York: Richard R. Smith, 1930, pp. ix + 296. \$2.50.

With competent scholars concurrently assenting to the proposition that between the ethical outlook of Jesus and that of his rabbinical contemporaries there was remarkable similarity, there is natural cause to wonder why, then, Jesus was plunged into inordinate conflict with adherents of the rabbinical schools. Granting the truly contemporaneous character of the masses of alleged tannaitic parallels to dominical sayings—a concession not lightly to be made, in view of the relatively late sources for first century Judaism—the student of the Gospels becomes the more acutely aware of some fundamental, if not obvious, dissidence, on the part of Jesus, from the conventional ethical teaching of his time.

It is to an analysis of the dissimilarities between the teaching of Jesus and the teaching of the rabbis that Dr. Branscomb here more particularly addresses himself. Owning a large measure of dependence upon the distinguished work of Bacher, Abrahams, Montefiore, Moore and Strack-Billerbeck, he has assumed a position complementary to theirs.

In a long preliminary chapter on "Jewish Thought of the First Century," Dr. Branscomb describes the principal movements and developments within the limits of Judaism. It is notable here that he thinks of the apocalyptic writings as "having arisen out of the main stream of Jewish life."

The body of the book is an examination of the teaching of

Jesus, painstakingly classified with respect to sources, with attention always to the question, What, exactly, was the attitude of Jesus towards the Torah? The answer is, We do not know, exactly. For the reason, as Dr. Branscomb is clever enough to see, that the Gospels do not represent Jesus as having had a fixed, definable attitude towards it.

It is ably shown that not every inconsistency of ethical attitude discoverable in the Gospel according to Matthew is attributable to the compiler alone. Jesus at once revered the Torah, and, on his own authority, coupled with this reverence a "method of interpreting it by which certain of its precepts of a general moral character were regarded as of universal and imperative authority, to such an extent that they suspended or superseded other precepts with which they came into conflict" (p. 191). Neither the assumption of authority nor the technique of comparison belonged to the rabbinic tradition.

Jesus was not, like the Sadducees, disdainful of the oral tradition, as such. Nor did he, as some commentators would have it, oppose ceremonial provisions of the Law as though these were in themselves of indifferent value. He "viewed the multiform literature of the Jewish Scriptures as expressive of simply a few great principles, all of which could be subsumed under the fundamental command 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart . . .' and 'thy neighbor as thyself.'" If a unifying principle is at all discoverable in our Lord's attitude towards the Law of Moses, it is that the Mosaic teaching is not definitively preceptual, but rather illustrative of general ethical principles. In the study of the whole corpus of the teaching of Jesus a similar interpretive principle is clearly suitable.

MAC KINLEY HELM.

Christ in the Gospels. By Burton Scott Easton. The Hale Lectures, 1930. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930, pp. xi + 210. \$1.75.

Professor Easton writes with the double purpose of describing the more recent phases of Gospel criticism and examining the Gospel history in the light of this modern investigation. One

sometimes hears the complaint that work on the New Testament has come almost to a stand-still. No book of outstanding character has appeared for years, and the newer literature consists of monographs, usually on narrow and technical themes, which are never even heard of by the ordinary reader. It might seem as if only a few sparse veins of ore can now be extracted, by painful processes, from the worked-out mine of New Testament study. Yet when the new material thus gained has been gathered together the result is astonishing. We discover that our knowledge of the Gospels has not merely been advanced a few steps farther but that it has been raised to a different level. Readers who left off their specific New Testament studies ten years ago and take up the present book will feel bewildered. Those volumes which still look fresh in their bindings and which are supposed to speak the last word of knowledge, are now antiquated. The few past years which appeared so barren have somehow changed everything.

Professor Easton is admirably fitted for the task he has set himself. In his critical commentary on Luke he made that minute and first-hand study of the Gospel material without which there can be no real grasp of the intricate problems. He has kept himself abreast of all the recent work, even in fields that seemed remote from direct New Testament interests. He has not only learning but a keen mind and a balanced judgment and a rare gift for seeing familiar things with fresh eyes. It would be hard to name any recent book on the New Testament which contains so much that is genuinely new. It only contains 200 small pages, but the present reviewer must confess that from every page he has learned something which he did not know before, and which was worth knowing.

In the first chapter Dr. Easton examines the new position of Synoptic criticism, with special reference to the burning questions of the Lucan source and the collection of Sayings. He proceeds, in two highly interesting chapters to discuss the attempts to get behind the Synoptic Gospels, directing his attention chiefly to "Formgeschichte" and to the possible light that may be obtained from the Mandaeen literature and Eisler's re-reading of Josephus.

He believes that the effort to break up the Gospels into the fragmentary pieces out of which they were originally composed has yielded results of real importance. This, to our mind, appears doubtful. The fact that our Gospels are made up of a great number of stray anecdotes and sayings was fully appreciated long ago, and the recent critics have done little more than attach very dubious labels to the groups of pieces in the mosaic. If they could determine where the fragments come from, and what was their original context they would help us much; but they leave us, as before, in a region of pure guess-work. There is a real danger that the attraction of this conjectural type of criticism may hinder the analysis of those actual documents where we are on solid ground. We cannot but feel, too, that Dr. Easton is much too considerate towards the Mandaeans. This obscure sect is interesting for its own sake, and its literature has light to throw on some peculiar phases of Syncretism. But the effort to connect the Mandaean movement with the origins of Christianity is surely due to nothing but pure wrong-headedness. Some pundit of the future will possibly dig deep into the works of Mrs. Eddy, with a view to proving that they gave rise to the Church of England.

Before entering on the message of the Gospels Dr. Easton devotes an illuminating chapter to its Jewish background. He argues, it seems to us convincingly, that a profound change came over Judaism in the period following the fall of Jerusalem. The Pharisaism to which Jesus and Paul were opposed was much harder and more rigorous than that which developed later, perhaps under an impulse in some measure derived from Christianity. Modern apologists for the Law, both Jewish and Christian, have laid stress on the breadth and spirituality of the Pharisaic teaching, and have so inferred that the New Testament strictures are prejudiced or false. But as Dr. Easton acutely points out the Pharisees of our Lord's day would have denounced the later teaching almost as bitterly as they did that of Jesus himself.

Nothing could be better than the outline of the Gospel message in the closing chapters of the book. Dr. Easton is anxious, perhaps too anxious, to read nothing "modern" into the sources.

He tries to understand the thought of Jesus in just the meaning it must have borne to Jesus himself and those who heard him. This attempt has been made by many recent writers, usually with the result that to all the other problems they add one infinitely more difficult, why a Teacher who was such as they describe him should have made any impression at all. Dr. Easton gives us the message in its strict historical setting, but leaves us in no doubt as to why it possessed such spiritual depth and power. There is only one point in his account of it to which we take exception. He inclines, we think, to lay too exclusive a stress on the transcendental idea of the Kingdom, and is thus led to discover a cleavage in Jesus' teaching,—a "double soteriology." On the one hand there is the message of God's Fatherhood, bound up with what is permanent and universal in religion, on the other hand the hope of the Kingdom, which had nothing intrinsically to do with it, and which rested on peculiar beliefs of the time. But surely Jesus thought of the Kingdom not merely as the apocalyptic age to come but as the condition of things when men would know God and do his will. In the hope of the Kingdom they were to have the assurance even now of God's Fatherhood.

This is only one of a number of questions which we shall expect Dr. Easton to discuss more fully in a later book, for the present one contains in it the promise and potency of many. In the limited space allowed him by the conditions of the Hale Lectureship he has certainly given us good measure, pressed down and running over.

E. F. SCOTT.

The Gospel according to St. Luke. By John Martin Creed. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930, pp. lxxxix + 340. \$5.00.

The Gospel of Luke. By William Manson. New York: R. R. Smith, 1930, pp. xxx + 282. \$3.50.

The Gospel according to Saint Luke. By H. Balmforth. New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1930, pp. viii + 313.

Dr. Creed is Ely Professor of Divinity at Cambridge University. His commentary has the familiar form of the Macmillan volumes; the Greek text (Westcott & Hort's) in large type at the

head of the page, with verse by verse notes in small type below, in which passages in Greek—from whatever source—are given in the original with no translation. Students, consequently, who do not read Greek easily will find this work difficult to use.

Very little attention is paid to textual criticism, and the marginal apparatus is extremely scanty.

In literary criticism Dr. Creed refuses to go beyond the two-source theory, preserving a non-committal attitude about other sources: he calls the L theory "perhaps improbable" (page lxvii), a comment that is of course carefully ambiguous. He goes on, indeed, to show that the L material has certain marks of homogeneity, and that at various points it has been edited unskilfully, but does not allow these facts to concern him greatly: "how far the evangelist is to be held responsible for this superficiality of treatment, or how far he is merely reproducing his source, it is perhaps impossible to determine" (page lxx). One cannot help feeling that the matter should not have been left there; "perhaps improbable" and "perhaps impossible" are phrases that the critic is bound to investigate. Dr. Creed, however, feels no such duty incumbent on him. In his detailed commentary he points out here and there Semitisms, incongruities, etc., but he makes no effort to explain them, nor does he ever mention other commentators' attempts at explanation. For instance, on 21:28 (page 257) he observes: "Here the redemption is not associated with the death of Christ but with his return. This is, as Wellhausen remarks, the earlier conception." Now it would seem that Luke's return to a conception earlier than Mark's is a fact of real interest. But Dr. Creed drops the subject.

Much the same is true of the handling of Luke's parallels to Mark in general. The major divergencies between the Gospels are listed, but they are rarely interpreted: as a result the commentary is rather overloaded with mere statistical matter of a rather obvious kind. The great exception is found in the last four chapters, where Dr. Creed has set himself to prove that free Lukan editing of Mark will account for the phenomena. Of chapter 21 he says, "It does not seem likely that Luke would deliberately

interpolate odd verses of Mark into another source" (page 253), and this "not likely" settles the question. At any rate, the explanations given are only of the most general character, with very little attention to close detail.¹

This superficiality in literary criticism leads to a corresponding superficiality in exegesis. In chapter 16, for example, Dr. Creed dismisses a famous *crux* by saying "The connection of the sayings which follow (vv. 14-18) with what precedes and with one another is obscure. The arrangement is probably editorial" (page 206). Surely students might have been given more help than this! But Dr. Creed does not concern himself very deeply about students' needs: on Luke's version of the Sermon on the Mount he gives no exposition at all; nothing but lists of the divergencies from Matthew and of Jewish parallels. This is especially to be regretted because Dr. Creed's exegesis of a passage that interests him is wholly admirable. Nothing could be better than his handling of 17: 20-21, where everything really relevant may be found in the briefest possible compass. And Dr. Creed's historical criticism is acute; he shows himself a worthy and discriminating follower of Wellhausen.

Dr. Manson is Professor of New Testament at New College, Edinburgh. His volume is part of the *Moffatt* series, so that his purpose is primarily expository, but his exposition rests on a solid foundation of minute critical study. In his case there is no doubt of the three-document hypothesis, and he has reached his own conclusions about the extent of L. In consequence he moves with much greater freedom than Dr. Creed; although the type of commentary he has written debarred him from going into much critical detail, students will often gain more help from this book than from Dr. Creed's more ambitious work. A close-woven exegetical texture underlies the exposition at every point, so that precise attention is paid to the peculiar sense of phrases in their Lukan context. The exposition itself is delightful; always lucid

¹ With regard to the "non-likelihood" of the procedure in question, Dr. Creed might have compared say, Mt. 12: 25-32, where any one can observe how Matthew builds up a narrative by interpolating odd verses of Mark into Q.

and practical, without descending to a mere homiletic level. This volume should prove one of the most useful commentaries that we have had in English for many a long day.

Mr. Balmforth is a Master at Repton School. He writes for the *Clarendon Bible* and his work is accordingly very simple and popular. He, however, knows the critical literature abundantly, and does not hesitate to cite divergent opinions on difficult passages—at times, perhaps, almost too lavishly for the type of reader he presupposes. Yet anyone can understand and profit by even so critical a remark as this: "These stories" (Luke 8: 22-56) "come to us in the form of popular legends, and have all the atmosphere which belongs to the folk-tale, coloring the nucleus of fact with the awed wonder and imaginative play of unscientific peasant minds" (page 179).

BURTON SCOTT EASTON.

Der Brief an die Kolosser. By Ernst Lohmeyer. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1930, pp. 201.

This is the eighth edition of the Epistle in the *Meyer* series; the seventh, by Erich Haupt, was published as long ago as 1902.

When in 1928 Dr. Lohmeyer published the companion volume on Philippians its reception was generally unfavorable. Despite the author's brilliance, his insistence on an extreme Barthian interpretation led to results that were constantly—to speak frankly—most perverse. So it is a pleasure to note that in the present volume he has produced a much more sober and objective piece of research, with the Barthianism chiefly confined to little homilies interpolated every here and there. The general lines of the modern interpretation of Colossians were fixed in 1909 by Dr. Martin Dibelius in his *Die Geisterwelt im Glauben des Paulus*, and from these lines Dr. Lohmeyer never departs very far. The section of his introduction headed "The Colossian 'Philosophy'" (pages 5-8) gives a concise general description of the curious syncretistic system combatted by St. Paul, and the commentary, especially on 2: 8-3: 4, elaborates the needful details.

The characteristic feature of all Dr. Lohmeyer's exegetical

work is his discovery of poetic form at every possible—and sometimes impossible—point. Thus he prints 1:21-23a as follows:

And you being in time past
 Alienated and enemies in your mind
 In your evil works,
 Yet now hath he reconciled
 In the body of his flesh
 Through death,
 To present you
 Holy and without blemish and unreprouable
 Before him,
 If so be that ye continue in the faith,
 Grounded and steadfast and not moved away
 From the hope of the gospel.

This example shows the danger of the method. Some parallelism is no doubt exhibited, but there is the constant danger of dragooning into poetry what is surely nothing more than prose. Dr. Lohmeyer is perhaps at his best with 2:13-19, a passage that he very enticingly explains as a familiar Christian "spiritual song," which St. Paul quotes.

Indeed, he argues constantly for the presence of quotations, particularly in chapter 2, where he claims that St. Paul is constantly citing gnostic catch-words. The very difficult passage 2:20-23 thus becomes:

If ye died with Christ from the Stoicheia of the world,
 Why subject ye yourselves to ordinances, as though living in the world?
 "Handle not nor taste nor touch!"
 All of which things perish in the using!
 "According to the precepts and doctrines of men"—
 Which things indeed have a show of wisdom;
 "Through will-worship and humility and severity to the body"—
 Not through that sort of "honor" to the satisfaction of the flesh!

Now, while even this is not precisely a model of lucidity, it at least conveys some meaning, but when verses 22-23 are read—as they usually are—as a continuous statement by St. Paul, they defy exegesis entirely and cause most interpreters to take refuge in the theory of hopeless textual corruption.

We may note that Dr. Lohmeyer tries to explain St. Paul's Christological development as far as possible from Jewish Wis-

dom speculation; he admits some influence from Greek "cosmic myths" but reduces this to minimum dimensions.

As was the case with Philippians, he makes Cæsarea the place of writing. This leaves him, however, in difficulties to explain the arrival of Onesimus, for Cæsarea was an unlikely haven of refuge for a runaway slave from Colossa. If Rome is to be discarded, Ephesus is a far more probable home for the Epistle than Cæsarea. And this is true even if Philippians be assigned to Cæsarea, for there is no need to connect Colossians and Philippians locally.

Dr. Lohmeyer has been engaged by the publishers of the *Meyer* series to write the volumes on the Synoptists, and is now devoting himself to this task. His commentary on Ephesians will consequently not appear for some years.

BURTON SCOTT EASTON.

Die Mystik des Apostels Paulus. By Albert Schweitzer. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1930, pp. xvi + 407. M. 16.

"With this exposition of Paul's doctrine I am bringing to something of a conclusion the task undertaken by my theological works thus far" (page viii). And, indeed, this stately octavo volume presents us with nothing less than a general survey of first century Christian thought, beginning with the Old Testament background and ending with Ignatius, arranged around a single common theme: the eschatology. As Dr. Schweitzer sees things, it is this eschatology, wholly Jewish in character, that makes a unity of all Christian teaching until Paul's death; it is only with the ebbing of the apocalyptic hope in the post-Pauline period that Hellenism really enters the church, and Dr. Schweitzer sets up the point-blank equation, "Hellenism" = "Transmutation of eschatology."

The present volume supports this thesis with an elaborate and systematic investigation of Paulinism. The "kernel" of the discussion will be found on pages 106-114. "The first Christ-mysticism is in the preaching of Jesus himself. For it is not true that Jesus proclaimed only the nearness of the Kingdom and

the ethic to be practiced while waiting for it. He declared also that, through association with himself, men have already the assurance that they will be the future companions of the Son of Man" (page 106). In this way Jesus taught "a Christ-mysticism such as was possible for the time when the coming Messiah, unknown and in human form, was walking the earth" (page 110). All Paul added to this was the doctrine "that the communion of the elect with Christ was actual in the time between his resurrection and his return, and that only through this present communion would union with him in the Messianic Kingdom be possible" (page 110). And "this mysticism . . . is nothing else than the eschatological conception of redemption, looked at from within" (page 113).

From this basis Dr. Schweitzer then proceeds to a logical development of Paulinism, in a manner than can best be described by his chapter headings: "Suffering as a manifestation of the death with Christ"; "Possession of the Spirit as a manifestation of the resurrection with Christ"; "Mysticism and the Law"; "Mysticism and justification by faith"; "Mysticism and sacraments"; "Mysticism and ethics." And the rigid unity of Dr. Schweitzer's treatment may be illustrated by a sentence from this last chapter: "The ethic of Paul is consequently nothing but his mysticism conceived from the standpoint of the will" (page 288). Yet he is saved from wholly procrustean methods by a preliminary admission and warning on page 25: "A final peculiarity of Paul's mysticism lies in the fact that Paul is not solely a mystic."

Undoubtedly; Paul was not solely a mystic. Nor was his system—if we can really speak of a Pauline "system"—in other regards so close-knit and logical a structure as Dr. Schweitzer depicts: it has been many a long year since Paul was thus portrayed as a truly systematic theologian. Dr. Schweitzer's treatment of justification by faith primarily as a corollary of the apocalyptic hope is quite as one-sided as the old traditional teaching that made the whole of Paulinism a corollary of justification by faith. Both schemes, no doubt, can claim Pauline support,

but the apostle's total reasoning was not controlled by either theory. Paulinism is bigger than any analysis of Paulinism.

And just as Paul was not wholly a mystic, neither was he wholly an apocalypticist. In Philippians, for instance, his expectation of seeing the parousia had faded, and he had grown convinced that he would die before the end. His hope changed correspondingly into a "desire to depart and to be with Christ," after a life "fruitful with work." Here we have a thoroughly non-apocalyptic motive. Nor does the elaborate argument in the first two chapters of Colossians use apocalyptics anywhere; both the Christology and the soteriology throughout are independent of any thought of the nearness of the end, and the appearance of apocalyptics in 3:4 comes as something of a surprise.

Yet it would be ungrateful to multiply instances of dissent from what Dr. Schweitzer has written with prophetic zeal. New Testament study owes him an immeasurable debt for recalling to us so sharply the uncompromisingly supernatural message of the first Christianity. And very much of what he has to say in the present volume is of enduring worth; if not, perhaps, always for the novelty of the matter, at least for the genius for pungent expression that makes Dr. Schweitzer's works so great a joy to read.

BURTON SCOTT EASTON.

From Orpheus to Paul, A History of Orphism. By Vittorio Macchioro. Henry Holt and Co., 1930, pp. vi + 262. \$3.00.

This important volume consists of the Schermerhorn Lectures delivered by the well-known Curator and Professor at the University of Naples in 1929 at Columbia University.

In substance they re-affirm and amplify the position taken by the author in *Zagreus*. In this earlier writing Dr. Macchioro answers the question as to what has been the historic action of Orphism throughout the centuries in the following admirable words: "A primordial mystical activity of the human spirit, originating in a very remote age through an unconscious and immanent activity of our thought, Orphism accompanied the

Greek people along all the stages of their evolution from magic to philosophy, from mysticism to rationalism, until at length, in its ultimate conquest, it was transformed and spiritualised in passing into Christianity, a wonderful example of that aspiration by which humanity has been raised from the formless thought of the savage to the sublimest heights of the spirit."

The present volume is an expansion of this thought. To Dr. Macchioro, as to Miss Jane Harrison, Orpheus is a real historical character, living and dying in Thrace some time prior to the Trojan War. Into the complacent rationalism of the old Greek cults he introduced a disturbing element of mysticism, together with the sense of sin and a contempt for the body altogether at variance with orthodox Greek religion. Pythagoreanism was affected by Orphic teachings in South Italy and from thence came into Greece proper elements which strongly influenced Heraclitus and Plato. How far the 11th. Odyssey has been reshaped, as the author suggests, with the result of leaving in the narrative two contradictory religious strata, must be, of course, a matter of literary opinion, but the conflict of Orphism with the Homeric religion is sufficiently obvious. Similarly, it is introducing conjecture of a highly disputable sort into his argument when the writer affirms the superimposition of an Orphic stratum upon the Gospel account of the Eucharistic Institution. Many will prefer to believe that it was the intention of Christ from the first to do something quite other than keep with His disciples a farewell Passover feast.

Nevertheless, in much that is said of the influence of Orphism on the Pauline sacramentalism there will be little disagreement. Dr. Angus has said, quite independently, that "Orphism was steeped in sacramentarianism which flooded the later Mysteries and flowed into Christianity. Salvation was by sacrament, by initiatory rites, and by an esoteric doctrine."

Nor is this to cheapen our conception of Christianity as divine, since we are hereby taught how ideas dimly adumbrated in the person of a semi-historical figure found their complete fulfilment in the person of Jesus Christ. In this connection Chapter x is

exceedingly well worth reading. Dr. Macchioro maintains that "the teaching of Jesus could never have surmounted its Jewish milieu and become diffused in the world without undergoing the profound remodelling necessary to make it intelligible and acceptable to the Greeks."

The whole volume is lucidly written, well printed, and well illustrated from frescoes and paintings which the author is excellently fitted to explain. Minor defects are the statement (on p. 26) that Orestes "killed both his father, Agamemnon, and his mother, Clytemnestra"; such expressions as "the Reverend Hanna" (p. 98); and the very risky division of religions (on p. 123) between the two classes of 'spontaneous' and 'doctrinal, or revealed.'

HERBERT H. GOWEN.

L'Évangile et L'Église. By Alfred Loisy. Fifth edition, with a new preface. Paris: Nourry, 1929, pp. 277.

The new edition is an exact reprint of that published in 1914 just before the outbreak of the War, which was, in turn, a reprint of the edition published in 1903 and condemned by the Congregation of the Holy Office. The first edition, published in 1902, lacked Chapter i, on the evangelic sources, and Chapter iii, section 3, "The Son of God."

Strange that this little book, which grew out of the controversy over Harnack's famous lectures on the "Nature of Christianity" (*Das Wesen des Christentums*) far back in the beginning of the present century, should today be reprinted and circulated once more. And yet it is not strange, for the problems which that book raised are still *sub judice* and are far from final settlement. Modernism has been condemned in the Roman Church; George Tyrrell has written out his heart, lived out his life, and died long since; a great war has shaken European civilization to the very rock footings beneath its foundation walls; Adolf von Harnack himself has died, lately, at the end of one of the most fruitful careers of scholarly industry and interpretative genius the modern world has seen; the Abbé Loisy, outcast from his own church, lives

on and looks back upon a life of fruitful scholarship, having produced some of his most notable works during the decade just past. Modernism, suppressed in the Roman Church, has found a refuge in Anglicanism and among the very Liberal Protestants against whom Loisy and Tyrrell wrote. Meanwhile also a new turn has been taken in the criticism of the Gospels and in the study of Christian origins. The problems are no longer so simple, on the one hand, nor so involved, on the other, as they were when Loisy wrote his famous reply to Harnack. Not so simple: for we know more about the background of early Christianity; nor so involved: for there is now more hope of recovering the earlier stages in the tradition of the evangelic materials. But to be sure of one thing, at least, the possibility of a reconciliation between the outlook and methods of modern Biblical scholarship and the outlook and methods of the Roman hierarchy—at least as at present constituted and officially expressed—is even less than it was in 1903.

FREDERICK C. GRANT.

Eintritt des Christentums in die Welt. By Walther Classen. Gotha: Leopold Klotz, 1930, pp. 433. M. 12.

Here we have the story of the Christian Way from its beginning in Palestine until it had penetrated Germanic lands in the sixth century. The conventional division between 'New Testament' and 'Church History' is entirely disregarded—after all, 'What thin partitions do their bounds divide.' The progress of the Way, its victories and defeats, its interpretations and misinterpretations are picturesquely described. The first chapter is an account of the author's tour in the near East and probably this is why the influence of climate and scenery upon the development of character is stressed throughout the whole book, notably in the case of St. Augustine.

Christianity is the religion of personality and so the book presents a series of personalities, the guides or misguides along the Way, the leaders and enemies of the Church—and how often are the two one? The series ends with Benedict of Nursia

whose Order brought not only the Christian Way but also some fragments of the shattered Graeco-Roman culture among the Germanic peoples: "Die germanischen Benediktiner haben die Brücke gebaut zwischen der frischen Urwelt Germaniens und der älteren Kultur des Südens." Did not the Celtic monks help somewhat in this work?

In order to make the story more vivid, romance is mingled with history: the papyrus letter known as Pap. Oxy. 744 in which a man tells his wife to expose the expected child if it is a female is made the basis of a scene in the Christian Community at Alexandria in which the writer of the letter becomes a penitent in the Church.

It was once said of a certain popular preacher that he could put two hypotheses together and make a fact. The author offers as facts some doubtful theories. For example on page 131, "Damals (in the days of King Agrippa) starben zwei der besten Jünger Jesu, Jacobus und Johannes, als Märtyrer." A reference is given to Acts 12 and Eusebius II. 9.1, but of course in neither place is it stated that John was put to death. Hebrews was written from Rome by Barnabas to Antioch, the Fourth Gospel originated in Antioch, these statements are made without even a perhaps. It is however plain that the author did not come to his conclusions 'rashly or unadvisedly.' They are based on independent investigation as is shown by the long note beginning on page 97 which tells of his progress to Schweitzer and beyond or rather back.

If the task of the scholar is to make the past live again, this is a scholarly work and the many modern illustrations which the author introduces are a reminder that the story of the downfall of the ancient world and the coming of the Dark Ages has solemn warnings for the Church today.

A. HAIRE FORSTER.

Divers Orders of Ministers: an enquiry into the origins and early history of the ministry of the Christian Church. By W. Lockton. London and New York: Longmans, 1930, pp. viii + 254. \$3.50.

Let it not be supposed that this is just another book on the ministry. The author claims—and with justice—"that it con-

tains something not to be found in any of its predecessors . . . that it gives in many ways a quite original view of the origins on the Christian ministry, which solves numerous problems." His main thesis is that the Church, the people of God under the new covenant, modeled its ministry according to the prototype under the old covenant. His first task, therefore, is to explore the organization of Judaism in New Testament times, as revealed in the Old Testament, the Apocrypha, Josephus, and the tractates of the Talmud. We have interesting studies of the High Priest and the Prophet, of the Great Sanhedrin and the local sanhedrins, of the synagogue ministry, of the rabbis and their disciples, of the authority of the metropolis in Judaism. It is assumed that the Mosaic institutions recorded in the Torah were strictly normative.

All this reappears in the infant Church. As the seventy elders of the Great Sanhedrin of Jerusalem represented the seventy elders appointed by Moses, so Jesus, as the new Moses, appointed the Seventy. As the Sanhedrin had an "upper group" of twelve, so our Lord appointed a superior group of twelve within the seventy—"the council of the elders of the new people of God, with its inner circle of assessors." The idea "that in the Christian Church we have a new sanhedrin" is applied to the interpretation of a number of sayings in the Gospels. Further, as Moses had the young Joshua as his servant, so Jesus appointed young men like Joshua to be the servants of the Church—its deacons—and first of all, of course, John Mark. But is it not an exaggeration or a false emphasis to say that "the great work of Jesus in the days of His flesh was to set up this new organization and to educate and appoint its first officers"?

Appointment is completed by outpouring of the Spirit. As Moses had put his spirit upon Joshua and the elders, so our Lord sent the Holy Spirit of prophecy upon the elders and deacons of the Church. But the elders are not prophets only—they are also priests, and their office was from the beginning sacerdotal. Lockton will have nothing of the distinction so often made between the official-hierarchical and the charismatic-prophetic min-

istry. Yet "in a secondary sense" all Christians were prophets, recipients of the Spirit poured out upon all flesh.

The authority of the mother-church of Jerusalem extended over the local Christian communities. "Elders of the great church (apostles, prophets, teachers) rank as a superior order in a local church, above the local elders, the rule of the Jewish Church still persisting in the Christian." "The council of Jerusalem was in fact a meeting of the great sanhedrin of the new people of God under the presidency of James, the Lord's brother, who took the place of the High Priest under the old covenant." There is thus a double hierarchy, each threefold. In the great church it is (1) Jesus, (2) elders including the apostles, (3) deacons; in the local churches, (1) elders of the great church, (2) local elders, (3) local deacons; "the latter hierarchy corresponding to the former, each at a grade lower down."

In the light of these contentions the New Testament and patristic writings down to Irenaeus are re-examined, with interesting and original results which may not here be summarized. The main argument is thus stated: "In the earliest days the churches of certain cities were metropolitical and exercised authority over subordinate churches, just as under the old covenant Jerusalem was the metropolis of Judæa . . . and beyond. In such churches the elders belonged to the highest order of ministers in the Church, and in later times would have been called bishops in the higher meaning of the title." These churches were not of course monarchically organized. At Rome and Alexandria, as at Jerusalem and Antioch, there were groups of elders who exercised paramount ecumenical authority as officers of the whole Church. All of this is important if true, and at any rate deserving of serious consideration. In a chapter on "Metropolitical Churches," Lockton uses this key to solve certain difficulties in early Church history: the status of Hippolytus, the ordination prayers in the early Church Orders, the deacon's function at the Eucharist, Jerome's statement as to the appointment of bishops at Alexandria, the perplexing thirteenth canon of Ancyra. Whether or not Lockton has discovered the right

key may be questioned; at any rate it seems to work in these instances. This chapter deserves careful study, since it is perhaps the soundest part of the book.

In matters of detail Lockton's method is to be criticized. He is all too confident of his parallels between the two covenants, he hangs too much on particular turns of phrase, and carried away with his strikingly original thesis he frequently interprets figurative language as if it were solemn prose. He shows himself more at home with the ancient texts than with modern discussions. But granting all this, there is something here that we are likely to hear from again.

P. V. NORWOOD.

A History of the Modern Church from 1500 to the Present Day. By J. W. C. Wand. New York: Crowell, 1930, pp. x + 314. \$3.00.

This is an excellent and scholarly summary of the historical period described in the title, such as might naturally be expected from the name of the office of the author. It is also, as might be feared from the provenance, a work in which the main stress is placed upon the history of the English Church. It was of course difficult in a book of less than two hundred pages to compress the story of four centuries of ecclesiastical history and it must be acknowledged that the author has displayed no little skill in the arrangement of his material. But only 11 pages out of the 189 are devoted to the history of American Christianity (apart from some earlier reference) and while the Episcopal Church has some share of three of these, the Roman Catholic Church fares worse with only one. Again, only 12 pages are devoted to the story of modern missions, an economy which admits of but a single page given to China and Japan and no reference whatsoever to the Church in Australia. Perhaps these omissions were inevitable from the small scale on which the whole volume has been conceived, but they are nevertheless unfortunate.

Apart from all this, Mr. Wand has given us a thoroughly

reliable account of an extremely significant period of ecclesiastical history. Two good maps add to the intelligibility of the text.

HERBERT H. GOWEN.

Rome and the Papacy. By Gilbert Bagnani. New York: Crowell, 1930, pp. xvi + 259. \$3.00.

This is a quite brilliantly written book on a subject which has recently attracted fresh attention through the Concordat arrived at between the Vatican and the Italian Government which closes the long-standing dispute over the territorial sovereignty of the Pope.

The author does not disguise the fact that in basing his entire argument upon the Primacy of Peter he is accepting this as a dogma of the Church and not primarily as a matter for historical investigation. He says: "As a Catholic, I shall not even pretend to be impartial; I accept without reserve the definitions and implications of the Vatican Council." This will, of course, disarm a certain amount of criticism, but it offers rather insecure foundation for the imposing fabric subsequently erected. Truth to tell, after the somewhat naive protestation that "our belief is quite independent of historical evidence," the story is told with considerable candor—not greatly to add to our impression of the sanctity or even the commonsense of the majority of the Popes. In fact, one sees little difference between the scheming unscrupulousness of the Emperors on the one hand and of the Popes on the other. It is clear that there were few periods in Church history when even the spiritual authority of the successors of St. Peter was generally recognized. The author, moreover, has few illusions as to the glory of the Holy Roman Empire which—as others before him have remarked—was neither holy, nor Roman, nor an Empire. He states: "The fact that Pope and Emperor . . . were almost invariably open enemies instead of loving colleagues proved that the whole mediæval conception of Church and State was fundamentally wrong and based on false assumptions."

There is much said in criticism of national forms of Christian-

ity, of which—says the author—the *reductio ad absurdum* was reached in the recent Prayer-Book controversy in England. But the writer is quite wrong in assuming that the assertion of the civil supremacy in England at the Reformation was the “first appearance of the Doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings.”

Many things in the book are excellently and epigrammatically put, as, for example, the statement that “everyone agreed that a thorough reformation was necessary. What took place, however, was not a reformation but a revolution.” Other statements are more than doubtful, as, for example, that the Roman Church has never, since the Jansenist controversy, made the mistake of opposing science. “Wiser than her Protestant sisters, it has kept clear of evolution.” The closing chapter, entitled “The End of the Roman Question” is a little question-begging. One still hopes for something better before “the awful day when Christ Himself will take the place of His Vicar.”

HERBERT H. GOWEN.

A Century of Anglo-Catholicism. By Herbert Leslie Stewart. New York: Oxford University Press, 1929, pp. xvii + 404. \$4.75.

This is a study of Anglo-Catholicism by a scholar who, to use his own words, ‘cannot even faintly share much of the creed which Anglo-Catholics hold most precious.’ It is therefore a study from outside, and as one reads the book one realizes that the author is not only outside the movement in his ecclesiastical allegiance, in his viewpoint, and in his sympathy, but he has studied the movement from its outside, its written records, of which he chooses the *Tracts*, *Lux Mundi*, and *Essays Catholic and Critical*, and the writings of some of its noted opponents. So, in spite of an obviously sincere attempt to understand the movement and to be fair to it, he fails to do either.

Anglo-Catholicism can only be understood when it is viewed as the living of a certain type of religious life, rather than as the holding of certain views on Church authority. Dr. Stewart quite rightly points out the great differences between the standpoint of the authors of the *Tracts* and that of the authors of

Essays Catholic and Critical. He would be on the way to an understanding of the Catholic movement, had he realized the unity of their Catholic life of penitence, communion, and prayer.

Against some of his statements emphatic protest should be made. He says (p. 314): "We hold," declared three thousand Anglican clergyman in a manifesto issued in 1914, "that by consecration the bread and wine are changed and become the true Body and Blood of Christ." Every man of these three thousand had already, as condition of his ordination, declared that he held the very reverse.' The statement in the last sentence is simply not true.

Dr. Stewart treats the reader to the inevitable picture of the 'Ritualist,' and to some unnecessarily offensive language concerning Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament. He quite misunderstands the relation of Catholics to the proposed revision of the English Prayer Book. But he ends his book with a most chivalrous plea for toleration for the Anglo-Catholics. All Anglo-Catholics should be grateful for this book, because, while it fails so completely to understand the movement, by that very failure, it points out some of the weaknesses of Anglo-Catholicism.

W. F. WHITMAN.

The Church of England and Social Reform Since 1854. By Donald O. Wagner. Columbia University Press, 1930, pp. 341. \$5.25.

There was definite need for this book and the need has been well met. We all have a vague idea that the Churches have known a social awakening; some of us are ruefully impatient because the awakening seems so incomplete. But accurate knowledge about the developing social attitude in our own communion has never been so carefully gathered or so effectively presented as in this volume. And however dissatisfied we may be and probably should be with the guidance offered the disciples of the Crucified by their leaders, we shall find much here to hearten us. The book begins with a backward glance at the times when William Wilberforce could denounce labour combination as "a general disease of

society," and when the Church of England was the one class in the community solidly opposed to the Reform Bill. But the story proper opens after the collapse of Chartism and the Christian Socialism of the fifties.

For twenty-five years, no groups stand for social interests. The Bishops follow with glad docility the policy enjoined on them by the excellent Prince Consort: "A bishop should refrain *completely* from mixing himself up with the politics of the day." Temperance and education are for long years the only social themes on which whispers even are heard from the clergy. Nevertheless, the Church draws nearer to the workers. Sisterhoods appear, the clergy of the towns are roused; slowly individuals of distinction emerge, a Maconochie, a Llewelyn Davies, an Edward Denison, a Barnett. The spell is dissolved, the Bishops speak sometimes. But not till 1877 and the formation of the Guild of St. Matthew does group action looking far afield appear. The Nineties come, and the reformers, clerical and other begin to organize. Famous names are heard, Scott Holland, Westcott, Gore. This period of attempts to cure social ills by voluntary action yields to a permeation of the whole Church. The Great War proves only a temporary set-back. In the General Strike of 1926 we may watch even the official Church active at last, as the two Archbishops issue an appeal with suggested terms of settlement, which is honoured with virtual suppression by the Government. Times have changed.

The process is dramatic. We pass from complacency to self criticism, from apathy to distress of mind, and to the enunciation of searching principles. It is a far cry from the England of 1850 to that of Copeç, of the I.C.F., of Guild Socialism. Looking back, we realize that the men most radically minded have been among our noblest leaders of the spirit; we have heard a splendid roll-call of saintly names. Any one disturbed lest socialism invade the Church might be reassured by the eminently respectable, not to say inspiring, membership list of the Church Socialist League.

The book is admirably documented; and the facts are left to speak for themselves. At times a little more colour might be wel-

comed, a little more recognition of the passionate relief the awakening afforded. It grieves an elderly reader to find the Christian Social Union, for instance, rather slightly treated. Emotion in the C.S.U. ran in more radical channels than thought, and the tempered formulæ were often the result of stern self control. "To claim for the Christian law the ultimate authority to rule social practice," was a simple statement epoch-making to many minds, opening vistas not only toward the "omnipotent Church" of primitive Christianity, but toward the Christian Utopia. Incidentally, it seems a pity in chronicling the output of that period, not to mention Selwyn Image's magnificent Hymn of Redemption.

We have certainly advanced, if timidly, from those days of the C.S.U. The social conscience of the Church, as the author well points out, has been quickened less by thinking than by contacts, and he describes well the movement back to the People, in settlements and otherwise, in which the Church has been a prime mover. But thinking has its place, and perhaps the most significant thing this book chronicles is the crystallization of tentative questionings in the rising demand for a distinct Christian sociology. To such a sociology every school of thought in the Church can offer contributions. If the honours just now seem to fall to the Anglo-Catholics, we must recognize that they have assimilated the evangelical energy in good works and the brave willingness of the Broad Church to entertain new ideas. It is also cheering to note Anglican thought uniting with that of other groups. The story ends perforce in the middle. Perhaps it is too much to claim that the Churches can henceforth be reckoned with as a distinct force making toward the establishment for the faithful of independent standards in the life of the nation and of society. But it is at least clear that the modern Church official and unofficial begins to realize her opportunity and her responsibility.

Commenting on the fear the Church-minded still often feel toward the secular radical, the author makes at the end a curious suggestion. If Labour, says he, would "formulate its aspirations in terms of Anglican doctrine," perhaps the Church would stand

with the advanced section of Labour for a new social order. That is a large 'if.' Do we wish another? Let us turn the sequence round. If the Church should second the more far seeing demands of labour, even the Bolsheviks might turn Christian. But Dr. Wagner keeps us in the world we know.

VIDA D. SCUDDER.

Ethical Teachings in the Latin Hymns of Medieval England. By Ruth Ellis Messenger. Columbia University Press, 1930, pp. 210. \$3.50.

Medieval civilization has been variously estimated by later ages. The Renaissance despised it as barbarous, "Gothic," the Dark Age. The nineteenth century often idealized it as romantic, the Age of Faith. Modern opinions still tend to fall into one of these two groups. Nothing is more needed than careful, painstaking study of all the facts available concerning medieval civilization, so that a true judgement can eventually be formed. In this volume the author has made such a study in a very limited, and perhaps not very important, field. She has analyzed about five hundred medieval English hymns (nearly half of them are from the Sarum collection) in order to discover the ethical ideals set forth in them. The conclusion reached is that "all of the teaching, in so far as it denotes an ethical program, more or less consciously followed, points to the medieval concept of seven principal virtues and seven deadly sins in its larger outlines."

W. FREEMAN WHITMAN.

Christian Unity. By Arthur Cayley Headlam. New York: Macmillan, 1930, pp. 157. \$2.00.

Few of our contemporaries have thought more deeply or written more sanely on the subject of reunion than the Bishop of Gloucester. Further, his official positions at Lambeth and Lausanne have brought him into the very centre of practical efforts toward Christian unity. The eighth chapter of his *Doctrine of the Church and Christian Reunion* (the Bampton Lectures of 1920) may almost be said to have pointed the way which the Anglican Communion has in the main followed in the last decade.

The book before us is based upon a series of lectures delivered at St. Mary's, Oxford, and at King's College, London. The substance of them will be familiar to anyone who has read the *Bampton*s. Whether or not the book will rejoice the heart of the reader will depend upon whether the reader's affections are set chiefly on Rome and the East or on evangelical Protestantism at home. Those who belong to the former group will doubtless find nothing good to say of it. Yet in view of the total history of the Church of England since the Reformation, there is ample reason for maintaining that on the whole Bishop Headlam is more nearly representative of the *ethos* of Anglicanism than are his critics.

To begin with, he is thoroughly Anglican in his dislike of enlarging the field of dogma. The Catholic Faith is simple and fundamental. Doctrines of the Church and the ministry are no part of it. The sacraments are to be observed as our Lord commanded, and the historic ministry is to be retained, without any hard and fast theorizing about them. On those points which are really of the faith he sees substantial agreement already attained. To confuse questions of Order with the Catholic Faith is simply to court disaster.

Of course it will be objected by some that with typical Anglican insularity the Bishop is severing the Church of England from the rest of Catholic Christendom, removing her from "ecumenical light." To which the Bishop is ready with the rejoinder that the Anglo-Catholic "three-branch" theory of the Church, when analyzed in the light of life's realities, is a palpable absurdity. It makes *one* particular point in the Christian life *the* note of the Church; it is repudiated by the 'rest' of 'Catholic Christendom'; it does not harmonize with the real characteristics of the Christian world. "Any theory which considers that many millions of Christians . . . who have not episcopal orders are not truly members of Christ's Church, must be condemned as not corresponding to the facts." Nor is the "body and soul" theory, or the theory that for instance the individual Presbyterian is a member of the Church while the society to which he belongs is no part of it, considered as worthy of more respect.

"We cannot say that the society to which we belong is a branch of the Church and others are not. The Church is the whole body of believers and should be one society. It is not so. The Church, therefore, is rent asunder by schism, and each of these divisions is not a church, but a schism. . . . We ought to speak of the Anglican schism, the Roman schism, the Wesleyan schism, and so on."

For an Anglican bishop to write these words takes courage—and we in reading them may take courage in another sense. But one wishes that Dr. Headlam had told us plainly whether or not one schism excelleth another schism in merit.

The Bishop reiterates his former contention, that the authority of the ministry comes from the Church, affirming that "there is no evidence at all of the transmission of grace as part of the (primitive) idea of Apostolic succession. . . . It was from the Church that (the bishop) obtained his authority, and through the Church he received the Holy Spirit which was given to the Church." Herein he shows himself quite unconvinced by what Dr. N. P. Williams wrote against him in *Lausanne, Lambeth, and South India*. He has no difficulty in affirming (and this deserves to be more generally recognized than it is) "that there is abundant evidence that the traditional teaching of the Church of England since the Reformation does not condemn as invalid non-episcopal orders. It has never had any doubt or hesitation on the rightness of the episcopate and episcopal ordination, but it has not held that belief in an exclusive way, nor has it ever based its teaching on such a theory of Apostolic succession as would make it impossible for it to recognize orders conferred in another way." Dr. Headlam is therefore prepared to reiterate the suggestion which aroused such dismay in certain quarters when made in his *Bampton* ten years ago, that the problem of reunion should be approached on the basis of episcopacy, with mutual recognition of ministers, but without reordination. Probably the Anglican Communion will not be ready to follow him until we have arrived at a larger and deeper doctrine of the Church. But if it ever does follow him, some measure of reunion with evangelical Protestantism will be within reach. Were we to purchase it at such a price, we would completely part company with Rome and the East. It is difficult

to see how the Anglican ideal of complete reunion could be served by such an expedient as the Bishop has recommended.

P. V. NORWOOD.

The Good Estate of the Catholic Church. By Viscount Halifax. London and New York: Longmans, 1930, pp. 67. \$0.80.

More than sixty years ago Dr. Pusey persuaded Viscount Halifax to become president of the English Church Union. During all these years he has fought valiantly in behalf of the Church's Catholic heritage, against insularity, Erastianism, and the alloy of Protestantism. Now, toward the end of his days, the venerable man gives us in this valedictory a testimony of the faith that has animated him. Very touching is his witness to what the presence of our Lord in the Holy Sacrament has meant to him. "Without it my life would have been such as I tremble to think of." But might not a devout Lutheran or Presbyterian with equal sincerity bear similar testimony?

Convinced that the Anglican bishops are not merely overseers of a local church, Lord Halifax calls upon them to act as members of the Catholic episcopate, surrendering insularity and freeing themselves from "an ignorant and prejudiced Protestantism based on erroneous and discredited views of the history of the Church of England." Not the bishops enforcing legal decisions, but those who teach Catholic faith and practice—those branded as extreme men—are the loyal members of the Church of England, because "it is they alone who teach her doctrines as a whole and are obedient to the principles she holds in common with the rest of the Catholic Church." But when he undertakes to prove this by the transitional "King's Book" of 1543, to the utter ignoring of the *Articles of Religion*, one may be pardoned for feeling that the Viscount is himself basing his argument on an erroneous and discredited view of the Church's history. How easy it is to think that only those are loyal who agree with us!

As strenuously as ever Viscount Halifax maintains the divine right of the Holy See, whose authority the Church of England ought—with proper reservations—to recognize. He spurns every

suggestion of approach toward the evangelical Free Churches, but he is convinced that "peace between England and Rome can be obtained if only goodwill prevails on both sides."

P. V. NORWOOD.

Unitive Protestantism. A Study in Our Religious Resources. By John T. McNeill. New York: Abingdon Press, 1930, pp. 345. \$3.00.

Is Protestantism essentially individualistic and divisive? There are many who tell us that it is so; and the amazing amount of denominational splintering which has marked its history seems almost to prove the indictment. Yet it should be remembered that the vast majority of "sects" have only a remote relation to Protestantism as an historical magnitude, and are rather to be regarded as belated outcroppings of mediæval heresies. Professor McNeill has adduced an imposing array of fully documented evidence to show that the disintegrating tendencies in Protestant Christianity are not essential to it, but rather incidental and accidental. The Reformers were by no means lacking in a sense of the social and religious importance of fellowship; they held a high and robust doctrine of the Church as catholic and ecumenical; as heirs of the constitutional principle of conciliarism, they made constant appeal to a truly free and general council to heal the wounds of Christendom. Both Calvin and the Westminster Confession reproduce almost verbally the strongest expressions of St. Cyprian as to the necessity of membership in the visible Church. But of course the Reformers regarded Rome as apostate and denied to her all right to the appellation *Catholic*. Very properly, they refused to commit their cause to a *papal* council, where the cards were too obviously stacked against them. In all this, however, they by no means abandoned their ecumenical outlook nor their adherence to the Catholic and constitutional principle. They held fast to the ideal of one visible fellowship. It would be well for certain of our bishops to remember that they did not dream of boggling at the phrase, "Holy Catholic Church," or of reducing it to a vague and meaningless term. Early Protestantism claimed to be Catholic too.

Having laid these solid foundations by an appeal to the writings of the Reformers and to the phraseology of the Reformed confessions, Dr. McNeill proceeds, in his second part, to study the earnest efforts in the reformation era to transcend confessional differences. "All the greater Reformers, with the exception of Luther in certain moods and special crises, were consistent advocates either of a Protestant or of a wider Christian union." This is true particularly of Melancthon, Bucer, Calvin, and Cranmer. The effort which the latter made to effect Protestant solidarity is only just now beginning to receive the attention which it deserves.

After the century of the reformation, the "unitive principle" was maintained by men like Hugo Grotius, George Calixtus, John Dury, Leibnitz, and the English Latitudinarians; and so on to its imposing revival in our day. The movement is traced down to the United Church of Canada and the South India project. The General Conclusion contains some pertinent observations which all friends of reunion ought to lay to heart.

This volume presents a wholesome corrective of the conventional interpretations of the genius of Protestantism. Dr. McNeill does not go much into the reasons why these ideals of unity failed of realization. Where he does touch upon this point, he more than hints that political oppositions and state interference lay at the bottom of the failure. He seems not to have given due consideration to the centrifugal elements in the Protestant attitude, particularly to the Lutheran passion for *reine Lehre*, which much more than questions of Order contributed to divisiveness in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

On page 222 there is an acute observation on Cranmer and the spirit of Anglicanism which would be well worth quoting at length did space permit. One is surprised at the statement on page 259 that "the religious bond between Lutheran and Reformed at the time of the Thirty Years' War was at least as close as that between Dominicans and Franciscans at the time of the Hundred Years' War." Apparently Calixtus did not find it so at the conference of Thorn in 1645. On page 317 the

name of Dr. William Reed Huntington is several times spelled *Huntingdon*.

P. V. NORWOOD.

The Doctrine of God. By Albert C. Knudson. Abingdon Press, 1930, pp. 434. \$3.50.

The author is a personalist, of the school of Borden P. Bowne. He believes in rationality, metaphysics, and logic, and uses them. But since it is theology that chiefly concerns him here, philosophical problems are but briefly dealt with, and sometimes it appears that his reliance upon personalism is rather too easy and confident. This is, at any rate, a philosophy which Christian belief in God finds congenial.

About half of the book goes to make up an excellently balanced introduction to theology; then we have chapters on the existence, the absoluteness, the personality, the goodness, of God, and on the Trinity. One could wish for something more explicit on how we ascertain divine attributes, and on what is accepted as "the religious *a priori*." The concept "personality" is taken very seriously, as "itself the key to ultimate reality and identical with it" (291). Even in God, personality is given a pronounced psychical character, almost a psychology, though with reservations. And *unitary* personality is the supreme category in the universe—God is *a* Person, and not, in the full sense, three Persons. The social analogy to the Trinity, the doctrine of circum-incession, is given a much lower place in this scheme than the psychological (*i.e.* one-person psychological) analogy. This will not carry all of us along. There is, however, much clear reasonableness in the analysis of what we mean by the Absolute Perfect Personality, and judicious weighing of many different opinions, including but not over-emphasizing the most recent tendencies, such as the German quest of unmitigated objectivity. No other general theological book that I know does this so well.

M. B. STEWART.

Essai sur la Nature de l'Inspiration Scripturaire. Thèse soutenue devant la Commission Biblique, 22 Novembre 1928. By H. Lusseau. Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1930. pp. xix + 242. Fr. 40.

"God the principal cause of the Scripture, the sacred writer the instrument of the Holy Spirit," is the assumption with which Professor Lusseau begins his work, and the entire book is simply an enquiry into the implications of that formula. First he determines whether this is really the doctrine put forth by the (Roman) Church Authority. Then, after examining minutely the concepts of authorship and instrumentality, Dr. Lusseau investigates the question how far each faculty of the human writer's mind can be called, in the strict sense, an instrument of the Holy Spirit. Proceeding on the basis of the Aristotelian psychology he concludes that all human faculties save the will become instruments in the strict sense, but the sacred writer's will can be called an instrument only in a looser sense. The influx of the Holy Spirit into the intelligence and the executive faculties is compelling, charismatic, but upon the will it operates after the manner of effectual grace.

All authors are responsible for the words in which their thought is expressed, therefore the biblical inspiration must be verbal. While we are not obliged to consider this inspiration to extend to such secretaries as were mere copyists, those secondary writers who functioned as editors or in some sense collaborators must have been also under the urge of the inspiring influx. Moses, for example, may have employed a number of such editor-secretaries. But the final product must be regarded as primarily the work of God, and admitting of no single error or inaccuracy.

In discussing the implications of this inerrancy, Dr. Lusseau takes a position somewhat in advance of most writers who have received official approval in the Roman Catholic Church. While he believes that it excludes from the Bible every sort of fictitious narrative, excepting parables and allegories obviously presented as such, verbal inspiration does not involve exact scientific statement. In matters touching more or less closely the domain of the physical sciences the biblical inerrancy merely implies that

the statements are in conformity with the visible phenomena, and in accordance with the accepted conventions of the speech in which they are expressed, just as an astronomer will ordinarily speak of the sun rising, or the diurnal motion of the stars. In matters of history, however, the inspiration of Holy Scripture requires a strict conformity at all points with the objective facts, and of course there is no room for a primitive or imperfect conception of theology or morals.

At no stage of the work does Dr. Lusseau examine the phenomena actually presented by the biblical text, to show how he finds or brings his theory in accord with the observable facts. Though the book is minutely documented with reference to ancient Jewish, to scriptural and patristic, to modern Roman Catholic discussions of the doctrine of inspiration as well as with the decisions of Councils and Popes, the author never illustrates how his doctrine is to be applied to the exegetical difficulties it creates, though he does admit that there are such difficulties. Only, let the exegete remember that there is no avenue of escape save along the line of the formula, "God the author, man the instrument."

Although its acceptance by the Pontifical Biblical Commission does not constitute this essay an official statement of the Roman Catholic position, nevertheless its approval, like that of Hetzenauer's new edition of the Vulgate, indicates a movement, gradual, almost glacial, but none the less a movement toward official recognition of some of the permanent results of scientific biblical study.

MARSHALL M. DAY.

The Evangelical Doctrine of Holy Communion. By A. J. MacDonald. Cambridge: Heffer, 1930, pp. vi + 330. 7/6.

In view of the revival of interest of the evangelical churches in the subject of the Eucharist, this book has special significance for the present time. However, the majority of the authors of this volume are not members of the Free Churches but evangelical Anglicans. The point of view is historical for the most part, rather than dogmatic.

The first essay takes us back to the New Testament where the author, Archdeacon Hunkin, has little difficulty in proving that "the disciples would certainly not have thought of the bread as no longer bread." On the other hand, St. Paul's view of the Supper is interpreted in terms of 'the numinous.' The essay is a thoroughly competent piece of work, though not profound; and is in touch with the best of recent studies in the subject.

The next article is by A. J. MacDonald, the editor of the volume, "Formulation of Sacramental Doctrine (The Greek and Latin Fathers)," as is also the third essay, "Symbolism in the Early Middle Ages." These are followed by (iv) "The Schoolmen of the Later Middle Ages (Abelard, Aquinas, and Wyclif)" by T. C. Hammond; (v) "The Reform of Doctrine (Continental and English Reformers)" by Harold Smith; (vi-vii) "Anti-Roman Apologetics (The Carolines, Non-Jurors, and Hanoverians)" by W. H. Mackean.

The last two chapters in the book are on the "Free Church Interpretation" by A. H. W. Harrison, Principal of the Westminster Training College, and "Anglican Eucharistic Theology Today" by Canon V. F. Storr.

The volume is a scholarly contribution to a subject which too often, alas, is treated in a purely controversial way. One hopes that it may help in bringing about an attitude in the church where "evangelical" and other terms—such as "modernist" and "catholic"—are not looked upon as mutually exclusive. It is surely significant that antecedents of each of these divergent views may easily be found not only in the New Testament but also down the course of Christian history.

FREDERICK C. GRANT.

An Emerging Christian Faith. By Justin Wroe Nixon. Harper, 1930, pp. ix + 327. \$2.50.

Those who have read Mr. Nixon's *Atlantic Monthly* articles will welcome this more large-scale apologetic statement of a modern Christian world-view. Modern intelligence is characterized by certain assumptions and points of view, such as the spirit of

inquiry, belief in the permanence of the space-time order, in man's continuity with nature, and in the universe as organically inter-related, which are likely to condition any religious mind in the near future. Historic Christianity has certain "persistent intuitions," such as the experience of the otherness and the self-bestowal of the religious object, his accessibility to all, and the sense of life as a moral struggle of cosmic significance, which also are likely to condition any religious mind in the near future. These two sets of beliefs are not, in the author's mind, incompatible. Of course he must defend the religious world-view against the claim that it is wholly outgrown among intelligent people. Belief in God "comes down to the assumption that the good life must come out of an essentially good world." Real values point to the value of ultimate reality. Belief in Christ, as "sacrament of God," as both unreservedly human and as the supreme deed of God, will best be regained by way of testing his most characteristic insights, notably his gospel of fellowship. Belief in immortality means, again, belief in the reality of values, notably the values of fellowship.

The book manifests a wide and sympathetic awareness of what is being said by the opposition—a very good feature for an apologetic work. Always it is recognized that in some sense and to some degree the opposition is right, and that our future ideas on the subject must endure correction in accordance with the opposition.

The great positive stand is for the validity of What Is Best, i.e. for a favorable qualitative judgment upon the universe, over and above the quantitative judgments of science. This we think is right; but it does lend itself to a luxuriant æstheticism, and we get a great deal of poetry, architecture, mountains, sunsets, and the like. We get also a great deal of disparagement of logic and the syllogism, and a favoring of intuitions, trends, insights. There is a certain agreement with (religious) humanism, but its inadequacy is shown, in one of the most convincing chapters of the book.

It is a rich and splendid book, of the very finest type of modern Protestant apologetics.

M. B. STEWART.

The Christian Faith in the Modern World. A Study in Scientific Theology.
By E. O. James. Oxford: Mowbray; Milwaukee: Morehouse, 1930, pp.
xi + 259.

Dr. James is Vicar of St. Thomas' Church, Oxford, president of the Folk Lore Society, president of the Oxford Anthropological Society, a member of the International Institute of Anthropology, and a real authority in his chosen field. American readers probably know him best by his essay in *Essays Catholic and Critical*, published in 1926. This essay opened the volume with a wide sweeping survey under the title, "The Emergence of Religion."

The present volume is similarly wide in its scope and discusses the physical universe, the evolutionary process, the Old and New Testaments, and fundamental doctrines of the Church such as the incarnation, sin and redemption, the resurrection and immortality, and then goes on to treat of the Church and the Ministry, the origin of the sacraments, magic and religion, the saints and the supernatural, and finally the title chapter, "The Christian Faith and the Modern World."

What impresses one most about Dr. James' work is not his acquaintance with all the modern literature of these various theological subjects nor the freedom of his movements within this extensive area; what chiefly impresses one is the courageous adoption and constant maintenance of the principle of thoroughgoing intellectual freedom. He is willing to let criticism do its worst and its best, confident that nothing true can be injured by the most radical and searching historical criticism.

The book will do much good, especially for perplexed people who feel that the ground is slipping from beneath their feet as a result of the modern 'attacks' upon Christianity and religion generally. It will do more good if it helps, as we trust it will help, in molding the outlook of the new generation of Christian apologists for whom scientific and historical criticism are equally indispensable.

FREDERICK C. GRANT.

Licht der Wahrheit. Deutsche Uebersetzung des Satjarth Prakasch des Werkes von Swami Dajanand Saraswati. Lahore. Leipzig: Markert & Peters, 1930, pp. xii + 272.

This translation from the writings of the famous Swami Dayananda Saraswati (1824-1883), who founded the Arya Samaj in 1877, is the work of Dr. Daulat Ram Dev, and seems well done, though one balks continually over the transliteration which dresses up the palatal *s* as *sch* and similar enormities. These, however, are not the fault of the translator.

Saraswati, who has been termed 'the Luther of Hinduism,' made considerable stir in orthodox circles by his preaching over fifty years ago, but his slogan 'Back to the Vedas' has had no notable success since.

The work now translated is in the form of a dharma-cāstra, or law-code, in which the rules of the four periods (ācramas) of life are given and interpreted and various distinctions drawn between the teaching of the Veda and that of the later scriptures. There is also a kind of catechism in which more definite instruction is imparted in the form of question and answer. Much of this instruction seems a rather forced accommodation to modern practice by a wresting of the original sense. A good illustration is to be found in the Swami's defence of foreign travel on the ground of supposed visits paid to 'America' by some of the old Vedic and Epic heroes. The writer is also a bit shaky in what ought to have been his strong point, namely, Sanskrit scholarship, since his explanation of many Indian terms and names is 'more ingenious than ingenuous.' In some other matters also the Swami might have followed his own rather naive advice: "Bade niémals im Wasser von unbekannte Tiefe." Yet it may be interesting to remember that Madame Blavatsky (whatever be the view one may take of her authority) testified: "India never saw a more learned Sanskrit scholar, a deeper metaphysician, a more wonderful orator, and a more fearless denunciator of any evil than Dayananda since the time of Camkaracharya."

HERBERT H. GOWEN.

Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas. By C. F. Andrews. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930, pp. 382. \$3.00.

There has been of late increasing interest in India because of the new movement, the new technique in politics adopted in the making of the nation under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, the Great Soul of Hindustan. No wonder he is today a world figure that has captivated the imagination of India because of his dynamic personality. No book can better interpret India's great man to the Western world than the volume entitled *Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas* by C. F. Andrews, a priest of the Anglican Church in India. It is worth noting that the greatest confidant and friend of the two greatest men of India today is Mr. Andrews, who for more than thirty years has lived and worked for India, the land of his adoption. When Andrews speaks, India listens. When he writes on any subject it is with characteristic sincerity and candour. In this present volume he speaks from personal experience and therefore with authority.

To understand a great personality is to know the beliefs and aspirations of the innermost recess of the heart of the person. Andrews has known and appreciated keenly the inner life of Gandhi which is the pivot around which his whole teaching and actions revolve. Moreover he is understood as the Hindu of Hindus, the expression of the very heart of India. Therefore he is presented as an ideal son of Mother India, himself the exponent of her highest aspirations, her hopes and fears. Andrews' own personal knowledge of India and his profound insight into Gandhi's life equips him thoroughly for interpreting this oriental sage to those of the Occident. By his many years of experience and contact with the religious thought and people of India he is specially qualified as the ambassador of goodwill from India to the West.

To the West Gandhi has often seemed to be a paradox, an enigma and an impracticable idealist. But C. F. Andrews unveils the depth of Gandhi's convictions, feelings and actions. This volume is primarily an attempt to interpret India's great man to the Western world. It is an original publication, attractive

in language and illuminating in spirit, written by an unbiased critic who understands the inward convictions of the mind and heart of his hero. The volume is a successful attempt to explain Gandhi from the standpoint of "the main principles and ideas for which he has stood in the course of his eventful career."

The book is well arranged to bring out the biographical details of the life of Gandhi through a better understanding of his religion, basic principles, ideas and ideals. It brings within compass the manifold aspects and interests involved therein. It is a sure guide to students of comparative religion in understanding Hinduism in Gandhi's life, and his reaction to other religions, particularly Christianity. Though he is primarily a Hindu in thought and spirit he is not interested in shutting himself within the narrow walls of one faith. He is an earnest and ardent searcher after truth and his autobiography published in a series of articles in *Young India* (a weekly edited by Gandhi) is entitled, "My Experiments with Truth." He has assimilated in his own life the best precepts and the supreme values and truths inherent in Jainism, Buddhism and Christianity, while his basic spiritual structure is the Baghavad Gita. He recognizes in his own life "the place of Jesus" and is an ardent follower of the Sermon on the Mount. His experiment is to blend in harmony these finer forces and values of religion in our every day life of economic, social and political relationships. Whatever the West may say regarding the impracticability of Christ's teachings of the Sermon on the Mount, Gandhi has not found them impracticable. To him religion is not a thing apart from life, not a system, not a philosophy but it is a direct teaching crystallized in personal life.

Gandhi has faith in the absolute righteousness of his cause and is an incorrigible optimist. Andrews devotes different chapters in this volume to the high spots in his life and teachings. Gandhi believes in absolute non-violence or Ahimsa and that is the keynote of his teaching and the central factor in his life. Ahimsa is his creed and it is one of the most if not the most active force in the world. To him, the only way to conquer violence is

through non-violence, pure and undefiled. Moral courage, soul-force or "Satyagraha" is more potent than the brutal methods of modern warfare. The Satyagrahi should never forget the distinction between evil and the evil-doer. He must not harbour ill-will or bitterness against the latter. It is an article of his faith that none is so fallen in this world but he can be converted by love. Two other fundamental virtues emphatic in Gandhi's life are self-purification and self-sacrifice. There is the memorable trial and later the unforgettable fast at Delhi—outstanding instances of vicarious suffering.

A significant feature of the book is that a large part is composed of Gandhi's own words and quotations from his letters and articles. There is in Gandhi a mixture of childlike simplicity and manly candour which allows us to see deeper into his life. The faithful disciple has in many pages allowed the master to speak for himself, in his humility not being quite contented with his own interpretation.

The book is written in attractive style and the ideas of Gandhi are placed in a historical setting when the high spots of his life and character are illuminated. No one who reads the volume can doubt the greatness of Mahatma Gandhi, for it is a personal testimony by an ardent friend and impartial critic. The author does not fail to mention certain of the views of Gandhi with which he does not agree or fails to understand.

Gandhi's life is an example of moral effort needed to supplant war. The book is based on his speeches and writings as understood by one of his own disciples. If Dr. Johnson was fortunate in having Boswell as his biographer the Mahatma was no less fortunate in having 'Charlie Andrews,' his beloved friend, as his interpreter. The book is highly commendable to those who desire to understand the soul of India.

JOHN P. AARON.

Studies in the Philosophy of Religion. By A. Seth Pringle-Pattison. Oxford University Press, 1930, pp. vii + 256. \$4.25.

Professor Pringle-Pattison delivered his famous Gifford Lectures on *The Idea of God* in 1912-13, and followed these with

further Lectures delivered in 1922 on *The Idea of Immortality*. The present volume contains his lectures at Edinburgh in 1923 which dealt with "Religious Origins and the Philosophy of History." One may say that the volume has to do with the Philosophy of the History of Religion, for its author goes back to the very beginnings of religion in human history and pre-history and traces the development down the main avenue of communal religion: Ancestor Worship; the Religion of Greece; Greek Philosophy; Hebrew Religion; Judaism; Zoroastrianism; Judaism and Christian Apocalypticism; the Historic Jesus; the First Christians of Judea; St. Paul's Christology; Gentile Christianity and the Mystery Religions; the Fourth Gospel; and The Christ of the Creeds.

Of course it is only a sketch, but what a sketch! One is constantly amazed at Professor Pringle-Pattison's extraordinary familiarity with modern New Testament criticism, and with the literature of the History of Religions. How a philosopher finds time for these studies far afield is difficult to imagine. The earlier chapters contain much excellent criticism of the theories of primitive religion associated with the names of Tylor, Frazer, Jevons, and Durkheim. At the same time it is not entirely clear just what stages in development the author would emphasize as significant or what theories he is prepared to defend. In general, however, his agreement with Marett is quite clear. It is also striking to note that he nowhere mentions Rudolf Otto, although his position is not wholly dissimilar to Otto's.

The value of the book lies primarily in its wide range. It is a comprehensive sketch of the development of the historical religion we know, tracing it from the very crudest simplest beginnings. The main general impression left is that anything cutting so wide a swath through human history must be 'stuff o' the very stuff' and a vital part of human life—not mere "matter of opinion."

For the rest, the value of the book lies very largely in the passing criticisms which the author makes as he reviews the process of the development of Christianity. There is an excellent ap-

preciation of Zoroastrianism, for example, and the discussion of the Resurrection of our Lord is incisive and thoroughly abreast of present-day discussion.

A third value that ought to be pointed out is this—the book shows how Christianity is viewed and believed by one of the most intelligent minds in the world today. I mean, it does not show merely that such a mind *can* hold the Christian faith; but it shows *how* such a mind holds it, with thoroughly drastic criticism at some points and a profound grasp upon the main principles. It is no volume of apologetics for immediate use; rather, it is a book that gives one mightily to think, and helps one to sense the direction in which religious thought is tending in the highest intellectual quarters at the present day.

FREDERICK C. GRANT.

Essays in Christian Philosophy. By Leonard Hodgson. New York: Longmans, 1930, pp. vii + 175. \$3.50.

Dr. Hodgson has given us a book that is rich in suggestion, thorough in thought and well-balanced in judgment. The title is well chosen, for these are genuine essays, approaches to subjects from a distinctive stand-point; they are philosophic, for they deal with the great basic problems of thinking; and they are Christian in that they draw on the realities of Christian experience for their material. The first six essays deal with philosophical problems, and the remaining six deal with the practical problems of the religious life. In the first group we face the questions of personality and freedom and the author seeks to show the place of human moral freedom in the universe. In the second group he boldly deals with the questions of Birth Control, Sacraments, Authority, and the Reunion of Christendom. His firm grasp on Christian thought and profound appreciation of Christian experience do not lead him into narrow dogmatism, but give him freedom in facing the difficulties of ethical judgment in a world of social change.

What is human moral freedom? Dr. Hodgson takes issue with the Behaviorists at the very start by claiming that the person

actually knows in experience the difference between doing a thing because one is forced to do it and doing it because one has made up his mind to do it. No assumption of a mechanistic universe may be allowed to contradict this fact of experience. The reality of moral choice must be accepted, as Alexander would say, with natural piety. Our problem is not to show how moral freedom can be real, but to show what the universe must be since it includes this fact of moral choice.

Freedom is, of course, not complete, nor is it the only thing in the universe. The behaviorist is right in showing how much mechanism there is in the world. Dr. Hodgson allows for the facts of mechanism in two ways, first by arguing that freedom in man is not complete, that we are in a transition to freedom; and, second, by giving over to the mechanistic world the whole environment of man, this environment including man's body and the so-called unconscious or subconscious mind.

There is novelty, emergence, creativity in the universe and we are compelled to think of this in terms of purposefulness. But "to speak of the 'universal purpose' is to speak of God." In the eternal activity of God the greater part of the universe is passively obedient, and this is what is meant by mechanism; but part has potencies of active co-operation with the will of God. Herein is the field of freedom. Dr. Hodgson is very near to Augustine in finding freedom only in the will that is attuned to the will of God. But he goes beyond Augustine in pointing out that the free will of man or of God is characterized by dynamic creativity rather than by obedience. The behaviorist is welcome to all the mechanistic which he can find in man, and he can find a great deal, but above the mechanical reactions of the organism there is the free power of choice when different solutions present themselves for any problem. Freedom is found in the tension of problems, it exists, or it may exist, in moments of crisis, it is not an assured and static possession of man. Freedom is creativity, in man as in God.

We are thus not completely free, but we are in transition to freedom. To refuse to face the problems of life is to allow the

mechanism of life to control, it is a refusal of the offer of freedom. To choose a solution other than that of the will of God is to engage in fruitless experiments in freedom; this is sin or error.

Sin is thus a real and powerful factor in human life; it is a misuse of freedom, it is a use of freedom against ultimate freedom. The philosophic idealist is wrong in claiming that sin vanishes when it is *seen* right, it must be *made* right. And this process of being made right is a process in time. Dr. Hodgson emphasizes the necessity of "taking time seriously," and connects this with the temporal entrance of God into humanity in the Incarnation.

Beginning with the actual experience of freedom in life, our author does not describe or explain it; he claims that it fits into and presupposes such a world-order as the Christian faith gives us, a world in which time is real and in which there is going on a process of transition from the passive obedience of nature to God to the active co-operation of persons with God.

These philosophic essays are enriching and suggestive. The reader will feel himself so indebted to the author that he will hesitate to criticize them, but in his modesty Dr. Hodgson asks for criticism. Two questions rise in the mind of the reviewer. First, is the self so utterly other than the not-self? Is the psychological dualism found in Dr. Hodgson's essays true? Is he not postulating a subjective thing-in-itself, a subjective substance sans attributes? And second, does he not hold to a cosmological dualism? Is the world of nature valuable only as matter on which the divine artist may display his skill? We are to take time seriously; very well, but what then is the present reality of the emergents of past time? God has provided some better thing for us that apart from us they (the past) should not be made perfect. Is the past to be superseded or redeemed?

When we turn to the second group of essays we find Dr. Hodgson boldly and modestly discussing the vexed problems of the ethical and religious life. Perhaps he is at his best in "The Reunion of Christendom" and least secure in "Birth Control

and Christian Ethics." In the latter essay he suggests that as universities provide Pass courses and Honors courses for different types of students, so the Church should present as an Honors course sexual abstinence except when children are desired, and in the Pass course should allow the practice of birth control. Of course the author has known that he will be sharply criticized for making such a suggestion; evidently he has done so out of sheer honesty and courage, desiring to face frankly a difficult problem. He has resorted to a dangerous expedient, as he himself acknowledges. But we suggest that he has not sufficiently considered the possible spiritual values of the sex life. Such consideration might lead to the drawing of the line at another place.

The essay on the Reunion of Christendom ought to be published separately and distributed widely. Nothing could better express the highest temper of the best Anglicanism than this essay. It reveals deep loyalty to the traditions of the best Anglo-Catholicism, ability to see where these demand amending and also a broad-minded recognition of the existence of other traditions and types of experience.

The clergyman who will read and absorb these essays will find himself a richer man intellectually, a more broad-minded man socially, and a deeper man spiritually. They will bear frequent rereading. We trust that these essays will have the wide circulation which they deserve.

D. A. MCGREGOR.

The Living Mind. By Warner Fite. New York: Lincoln MacVeagh, 1930, pp. ix + 317. \$3.50.

A presentation of Hamlet with the melancholy Dane left out is not so meaningless and empty as a presentation of a view of the world which omits the living mind of man. The attempt to present such a view is made by many modern schools of thought, and Dr. Warner Fite analyzes acutely the futility of a number of these efforts. The sub-title of the book is "Essays on the Significance of Consciousness." These essays were origi-

nally published in various periodicals between 1912 and 1918, but are altogether too valuable to be lost in dusty files. Dr. Fite discusses with delightful urbanity and good humor the popular tendencies of thought which exalt the mechanical, scientific, and unconscious aspects of experience and which ignore that for which all experience exists, the self-conscious individual. In these essays is a clear and dignified declaration of the supreme importance of the thinking, choosing subject. The essays are the result of profound reflection but the expression is so perfect in form and temper that every page is a joy to read. It is just the book for the many who are weary of the complacent dogmatism of an inhuman realism or behaviorism, and who wish to recall the days when man was thought of, or might be thought of, as a gentleman rather than as a mechanism of reactions.

D. A. MCGREGOR.

Spirit in Evolution from Amoeba to Saint. By Herbert F. Standing. New York: Lincoln MacVeagh, The Dial Press, 1930, pp. 312.

Assuming the fact of man's evolution from lower organisms, and the evolution theory at large, the writer seeks to show that the whole process is "a manifestation of divine purpose and activity, and that man's spiritual experiences . . . are in line with the upward trend of Organic Evolution, and alone give an intelligible meaning to the whole World-Process." The goal of it all is the development of persons and their entrance into "a personal relationship which is Love. This Love, moreover, while involving our attitude towards our fellow-men, finds no complete satisfaction, except in the realization that transcendent Love is at the very heart of the Universe." This means our communion with the supreme and personal God, as centre and organizing principle of the human fellowship in its final perfection.

He shows that the evolutionary process is complex, and that many distinct upward trends are combined in it, interrelated in manifold ways, and each of them contributing in its own manner to the general upward movement. He undertakes to reckon successively with the more significant of these trends, and to show

that they work both severally and in their combination towards the spiritual consummation which it is his aim to make apparent.

The principal heads under which these trends are exhibited are Response to Environment; Nutrition; Unification; Race Preservation; Sublimation of Mental Process; and Evolution of Values. Each of these general trends is illustrated by numerous subordinate lines; and the argument advances in a way to show at once the complexity of organic evolution, its teleological unity, and its spiritual outcome in man's equipment for entrance into communion with the personal God.

The author has done his work well, and his book is a valuable contribution to apologetics. It does not treat of the trinitarian relations that characterize and complete man's final development and says nothing of the supernatural entrance of the eternal Son of God into human history. In this respect its scope is less comprehensive than Father Thornton's wonderful *Incarnate Lord*. But none the less it reinforces the general thesis of that book, and is less difficult for the general reader.

The first part, on Response to Environment, reminds us of the late John Fiske's notable argument, in *Through Nature to God*, based upon the significance in evolution of man's reaching out to adjust himself to the spiritual. The argument, however, reaches its most inspiring stage in the last two parts, on the Sublimation of the Mental Process and the Evolution of Values. Two outstanding principles control the whole book: (a) that careful investigation and thought reveal beginnings of the making of man—and of his higher mental, moral and spiritual "characters"—in the earliest phases of evolution; and (b) that the goal of the process interprets the whole, the higher unveiling the teleology of the lower.

I recommend the book most earnestly to all reasonably intelligent readers, as clear, easy to understand, and challenging profitable thought.

F. J. HALL.

Immortality. An Old Man's Conclusions. By S. D. McConnell. Macmillan, 1930, pp. 178. \$1.50.

The premises are, that a person cannot exist without a body; that souls of high moral excellence may form for themselves, out of nature's inexhaustible resources, ethereal bodies within their grosser material bodies, during this life; that such ethereal bodies are capable of surviving the death of the flesh; that in respect to such immortality the biological classifying line between man and other animals is insignificant, for only a portion of humanity has it, the rest of men along with beasts being doomed to dissolution; and that such doctrine has the support of the New Testament. Much use is made of modern discoveries of subtlety in matter. The Fourth Gospel is condemned in general and very much used in particular (as is so often done).

The conclusions are, that the assumption of the immortality of all men's souls is less credible than the denial of an immortality, that the alternative of bliss and misery in everlasting life must be abandoned, in favor of the alternative of continued life and utter dissolution. Continuance of life depends on goodness of life, and thus ethical principles are knit into the proposed theory. But instead of increasing satisfaction, joy, blessedness, as result of goodness, we are offered simply—self-preservation. Do good, and you will be able to keep on doing good. It would be hard to find, outside of Kant, such a complete divorce of goodness from happiness. No point is made of the quality of eternal life as union with God in the communion of saints, and no notion of supratemporal eternity enters the scheme. Surely "life," in the New Testament and Christianity generally, is a much richer concept than such immortality.

M. B. STEWART.

The Church and Adult Education. By Benjamin S. Winchester. New York: Richard R. Smith, Inc., 1930, pp. xi + 181. \$1.50.

Jesus began His ministry with adults. He chose adults and trained them to carry on His work. Presumably these adults were men picked because of their spiritual fitness for the task.

Nevertheless, Christ felt the necessity of adding to their religious education by an intensive period of training during His earthly ministry. He realized both the possibility and the necessity of lifelong education for spiritual growth. The Christian Church to-day is slowly awakening to the possibility and the necessity of adult religious education for spiritual growth.

This awakening has been retarded by an absence of technique. Because of the emphasis placed upon the religious education of children there has been created for them a wealth of material both in subject matter and in method. We are glad to welcome, therefore, this contribution of Dr. Winchester's on *The Church and Adult Education*. It ought to do much to banish the notion which some people have that adult religious education is just a new fact.

One of the attractive features of the book is that it may itself be used as subject matter by an adult group desirous of becoming familiar with the meaning and objectives of adult education. At the close of each chapter will be found a series of suggestive questions as well as collateral reading which may be utilized for this purpose.

After pointing out the great extent of adult education in the secular world, the author indicates the necessity for such adult education in the Church on the grounds that no person is fitted to grapple with life's problems with just the equipment of a youthful education and that, while science may disclose the facts of life, only religion can furnish the meaning and value of those facts. The author is careful to point out the inadvisability of the Church playing politics, but he nevertheless shows the great stake which the Church has in the right solution of community, national and international problems. His discussions of specific problems within these several spheres furnish splendidly suggestive material for further consideration by discussion groups. Particularly valuable in this connection is his consideration of several familiar Church problems such as missionary work and financial support. There is a most refreshing view of Bible study presented by showing the Bible as a book of experience

which is most valuable in interpreting and guiding our present day experiences.

One could wish that a similar discussion had been presented on worship, prayer and the sacramental life. It may be quite true, as the author says, that the function of adult education is to develop community consciousness; but it is equally true that there can be no sound extension of life that does not have a contemporary intensification of life. It is just at that point that there is the greatest demand from the adult. How can I pray? How can I worship? Are there any other spiritual agencies which will fit me to grapple with the problems presented by human fellowship? While it is true that our present educational work is apt to be individualistic, it is also true that the individual can be fitted for social living only by deepening his own personal spiritual life. The two modes of life must be developed together.

Part III of the book is devoted to a valuable exposition of available materials, leadership and program making. One dislikes to speak adversely concerning any part of such a timely and valuable book. Presumably the book is intended for leaders and those interested in inaugurating and conducting adult classes. A chapter on the needs, characteristics and interests of adults plus a short consideration of the methods of conducting such groups would have placed within the covers of one book not only the objectives of adult religious education but a procedure for attaining those objectives. The whole tone of the book is a model for discussion group material. In a world of prejudice and propaganda it is dispassionate and judicious. It establishes that atmosphere of quiet reasoning which is essential in facing life's problems.

THEODORE R. LUDLOW.

NOTES ON NEW BOOKS

Biblical

Jesus the Son of God. By Benjamin W. Bacon. New York: Holt, 1930, pp. x + 152. \$1.50.

It was a fortunate thing for scholarship when Professor Bacon retired two or three years ago to devote himself to writing! This year has seen his *Studies in Matthew* and the present volume. Next year or the year after we shall have *The Gospel of the Hellenists* (which is to be another book on St. John); and finally Professor Bacon hopes to crown his life's work with a complete *Life of Jesus*.

The present sketch, representing the first series of Shaffer Lectures at Yale, is a popular expression of the point of view with which the author has associated himself during recent years. Naturally one finds in it positions which Bacon made his own as long ago as *Beginnings of Gospel Story* (1909) and which he has consistently advocated ever since.

One novel feature of the present book is the arrangement and titles. There is an introductory chapter, "The Life of Christ, Why We Study It, And How"; then follows a chapter on "What the Eye Saw" (Gospel of Mark); then one on "What the Ear Heard" (Q and the later Synoptists); the last chapter is entitled, "What Entered into the Heart of Man," and this deals with the interpretation of the life of Christ given in the Fourth Gospel.

The most striking section of the book is the long passage where the writing of the Life of Christ is compared with the accounts of Joan of Arc. The parallels are much closer than one would assume in advance, and throw real light upon the process of Gospel composition.

Peter the Fisherman Philosopher: A Study in Higher Fundamentalism. By John M. MacInnes. Harper Bro., pp. xiii + 150. \$1.75.

This book was condemned as heretical by a coterie who were opposed to Dr. MacInnes when Dean of the Bible Institute of Los Angeles. Their sentence was endorsed by the directors, who in the true spirit of the Inquisition drove the author from his post, destroyed the remaining copies of the book, and broke up the plates. It has now been reprinted by the author with a preface by Dr. G. Campbell Morgan. Wherein the 'heresy' consists is beyond the power of a member of the Church Catholic to discover. The book, perhaps wisely, avoids modern critical questions. The author assumes that all the speeches and writings which bear Peter's name form a corpus of the writings of the Apostle. It is really a suggestive commentary on his First Epistle, which whether genuine or not is among the treasures of the New Testament. Dr. MacInnes writes simply, easily, and unaffectedly and his book is worthy of attention. F. J. F. J.

The Mind of St. Paul. By A. Holmes. New York: Macmillan, 1929, pp. 263. \$2.00.

An application of psychology, chiefly McDougall's *Social Psychology*, to St. Paul, especially to his conversion. After an analysis of St. Paul's emotions and sentiments, various explanations of his conversion are reviewed and the author concludes that the 'spiritual' explanation is alone adequate. The last two chapters are on St. Paul's Faith and Character. Since the book comes from a trained psychologist it is a real contribution to the understanding of St. Paul. Acts and the thirteen Pauline Epistles are used apparently as of equal value in estimating the Apostle's mind. Ph. 2: 6f is even assigned to Acts. Even a psychological study has to consider source criticism and also world history: it was Pompey not Ptolemy who took Jerusalem in 63 B.C. not A.D. A. H. F.

Les Mystères Païens et le Mystère Chrétien. By Alfred Loisy. Second edition, revised and corrected. Paris: Nourry, 1930, pp. 352.

For a long time the Abbé Loisy's work on the pagan and Christian mysteries has been out of print and unobtainable. Many readers therefore will welcome the appearance of a new edition. For those who are unfamiliar with the work suffice it to say, as the author himself says in the new preface, that it offers a 'brief summary explanation of the religious evolution which has produced traditional Christianity.' The book opens with a discussion of national religions and the mystery cults, traversing fairly familiar ground. The next five chapters deal with the popular Græco-Roman mysteries, Dionysus, Orpheus, the miracles of Eleusis, Cybele and Attis, Isis and Osiris, and Mithra. Chapter vii deals with the Gospel of John and the Risen Christ; viii with Christian Initiation (Baptism); Chapter x with the Conversion of St. Paul and the Birth of Christianity. In conclusion the author states his view of Christianity as a transforming of the Gospel of Jesus into a mystery religion.

"L'Évangile de Jésus est véritablement devenu un mystère dans le christianisme, ou plutôt il est devenu le mystère par excellence" [as in Mark iv. 11].

On the other hand, he repudiates the theory which makes Christianity simply a product of the syncretism and conglomeration of the various cults to be found in the Græco-Roman world in the early centuries.

Church History

Das Mönchtum und die evangelische Kirche: ein Beitrag zur Ausscheidung des Mönchtums aus der evangelischen Soziologie. By Friedrich Parpert. (Heiler, *Aus der Welt christlicher Frömmigkeit*, Bd. 10.) Munich: Ernst Reinhardt, 1930, pp. 80. Brosch., M. 3.80.

The monastic system was the heart and soul, the life and regenerative force of medieval Catholicism. Without it there would have been no Luther. The Reformer abandoned the monastic system only gradually, reluctantly, borne along by the prevailing currents within the new evangelical church. But the monastic motive, thus excluded from the church, was continued under other

forms among the Anabaptists and other sects of the Reformation period and subsequently. This thesis is developed with frequent reference to the earlier work in this field by Ritschl, Troeltsch, and Max Weber. The evolution of Luther's attitude toward monasticism is illuminatingly investigated in the central section of the book where Parpert shows that Luther appreciated and sought to conserve the religious and spiritual values in monastic piety. P. V. N.

Das Augsburger Bekenntnis und seine Bedeutung für die Gegenwart. By Wilhelm Vollrath. ("Eine Jubiläumsgabe der allgemeine evangelische-lutherischen Konferenz.") Leipzig: A Deichertsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1930, pp. viii + 78. M. 2.50.

Anglicans may well be interested in the Augsburg Confession, if for no other reason than that the Confession was not without measurable influence on our Articles of Religion, which at several points re-echo the very phraseology of the *Augustana*. This is one of several excellent monographs called forth by this four hundredth anniversary year. If the *Augustana* was the work of Melancthon's moderate pen, it represented, nevertheless, the responsible profession of the evangelical estates; while Luther from the Koburg effectively determined the procedure at Augsburg by means of his pastoral relations with the princes. The greater part of this little book, however, is not history, but interpretation of this most venerable and venerated of all the Reformation confessions. P. V. N.

Reformation und Humanismus in England. By Hans Leube. Leipzig: A. Deichertsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1930, pp. 38. M. 2.

Since the war German scholars seem to have devoted unusual attention to the peculiar *ethos* of English institutions and English religion. Dr. Leube made the latter the theme of his inaugural lecture as Professor of Church History at Leipzig. By means of a careful analysis of the principal theological and literary monuments of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, he shows the central place which the theology of the earlier Greek fathers—the theology of the all-pervading Logos—occupied in Anglican thought. Man is a microcosm. This principle of reason and rationality is exemplified above all in Hooker and the Cambridge Platonists. It was this Christian rationalism which prepared the way for the *Aufklärung* in Germany, and so saved continental Protestantism from the atheistic tendencies which were so considerable in Catholic France. There is appended a copious survey of relevant literature, contemporary and recent. P. V. N.

Liturgics

The Romance of the Book of Common Prayer. By Francis G. Burgess. Milwaukee: Morehouse, 1930, pp. 134. \$1.50.

An elementary outline of the Prayer Book and its history, written with a love and appreciation for its beauty.

Liber Sacramentorum: notes historiques et liturgiques sur le Missel romain.

By Cardinal-Archbishop Schuster, O.S.B. Vol. V, *Les nocces eternelles de l'Agneau*. Brussels: Vromant, 1930, pp. 238. Fr. 18.

The fifth volume of this important work deals with the Propers from Trinity Sunday to Advent, thus completing the Proper of Seasons. To this the learned author has prefixed a short but weighty essay on oriental influences upon the Roman liturgy, and a longer essay on the contributions of monasticism to the liturgical life of Rome. This latter should be compared with Batiffol's chapter on this subject in his *History of the Breviary*. Cardinal Schuster's earlier volumes have already been noticed in this REVIEW. P. V. N.

The Eucharistic Canon, With Suggestions for a Possible Revision. By John Blomfield. New York: Macmillan, 1930, pp. xii + 183. \$3.00.

In his Introduction, Dr. Lowther Clarke tells us that this is the work of an Australian missionary priest, recently deceased, who felt keenly the need of liturgical reform. Making this his life work, he acquired an amount of liturgical lore which in a man without university training is both amazing and profoundly encouraging. Into his studies of the eucharistic anaphora he swept pretty nearly all that the ancient Christian East and West have to offer. He grasped, as few Anglicans have, the importance of the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus, but unfortunately he was not able to make use of recent German literature on the early history of the liturgy. American Churchmen will sympathize with his preference for the Eastern forms. His treatment of the Anamnesis and Oblation (Part II) and of the Epiclesis (Part III) is among the best available in English. The results of the author's study are applied practically in a suggested anaphora, with notes, commended to his brother priests under the Southern Cross. This book deserves to be known to all who are interested in comparative liturgics, and to all who would profit from seeing what an earnest priest without special training can accomplish in the realm of scholarship. P. V. N.

An Introduction to the Prayer Book. By F. W. Vroom. New York: Macmillan, 1930, pp. ix + 230. \$1.50.

This volume is designed to meet the wants of the average layman seeking to know more about our forms of worship. The history of the Prayer Book and its antecedents is dismissed with a few pages. But the exposition of the several offices is replete with interesting, relevant, and generally trustworthy information. The author's judgments on points of ceremonial and usage are sane, moderate, and thoroughly in keeping with the best Anglican tradition. A special merit is the constant comparison of the legal English Book with recent revisions, English, Scottish, American, Canadian. There are few books on the subject which the clergy could more confidently recommend to their people. Dr. Vroom is Dean of Divinity at King's College, Halifax. P. V. N.

Gottesreich, Welt, und Kirche bei Calvin. Munich: Reinhardt, 1930, pp. iv + 120. M. 4.80; cloth M. 6.50.

This is Volume XI in the series "Aus der Welt Christlicher Frömmigkeit" edited by Professor Friedrich Heiler.

In view of the widespread interest in the social effects of Calvinism this book like the author's earlier one (*Die Reichgottesidee Calvins*, 1922) will be sure to have a considerable reception. The author strongly insists that, like other reformers, Calvin's theology was primarily a theology of faith.

Origenes Werke. Bd. ix. (*Griechische Christliche Schriftsteller*, Bd. xxxv.) Edited by Max Rauer. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1930, pp. lxxvi + 324. M. 32.50.

The latest volume of the Berlin Academy edition of the Early Greek Fathers, which is the ninth volume of the works of Origen, contains his *Homilies on Luke* in the Translation of Jerome and the Greek fragments of the *Homilies* and the *Commentary on Luke*. A historical and textual introduction fills the first 66 pages. In spite of Jerome's opinion that the Homilies were the work of Origen's youth, the editor believes they were delivered at Caesarea either in 216, on his first visit, or fifteen years later, 231, when he settled there, an exile.

The text-critical work in this volume is immense in range. The editor has travelled widely over Europe during the past twenty years, visiting libraries where Origen MSS were to be found, and collating their readings. The existence of much of the material of this volume in fragmentary form has not decreased his labors. But it is safe to say that no one will ever hereafter be able to do thorough work on Origen without reference to the GCS edition, of which this is an excellent representative.

Florilegium Patristicum. Ed. Bernh. Geyer and Joh. Zellinger. Bonn: Hanstein, 1930.

Fasc. iv. *Q. Sept. Flor. Tertulliani Librum de Præscriptione Hæreticorum*, addito *S. Irenæi Adversus Hæreses* libro iii. 3-4. Ed. Jos. Martin. Pp. 47. M. 2.

Fasc. viii. *M. Minucii Felicis Octavius.* Ed. Jos. Martin. Pp. 86. M. 3.60.

Fasc. xxii. *S. S. Eusebii Hieronymi et Aurelii Augustini Epistulae mutuae.* Ed. Jos. Schmid. Pp. 128. M. 5.60.

Fasc. xxiii. *S. Aurelii Augustini . . . Liber De Videndo Deo seu Epistula* 147. Ed. Michael Schmaus. Pp. 34. M. 1.50.

Fasc. xxiv. *S. Aurelii Augustini . . . De Doctrina Christiana.* Ed. Heinrich Jos. Vogels. Pp. vi + 103. M. 5.

It is "like old times" to see these finely edited, inexpensive texts, like those which Germany produced before the War in such numbers and at so low a price that students the world over used them. They should be a real stimulus to patristic studies at the present time.

Studien über die Evangeliendichtung des Nonnos von Panopolis. By Joseph Golega. Breslau: Müller und Seiffert, 1930, pp. xvi + 154. M. 10.

In this, the fifteenth of the *Breslauer Studien*, Dr. Golega considers the language of Nonnos and its relation to the Biblical text. The student of the Greek of the period will find it invaluable; but it is almost entirely concerned with this aspect of the subject and throws no light upon other phases of the hymnology of Nonnos and his contemporaries. A bibliography of over four pages adds to the worth of the monograph. F. H. H.

Œuvres de Ruysbroeck l'Admirable. Trad. du Flamand par les Bénédictins de St.-Paul d'Oosterhout. Vol. v. *Le Livre du Tabernacle Spirituel* (Pt. ii). *La Foi Chrétienne.* Brussels: Vromant, 1930, pp. 264. Fr. 15.

It can no longer be said that Ruysbroeck's works are inaccessible, with this excellent French translation before us—to be complete with another volume—and at the low price which is charged.

The Anglican Communion in India. By Daniel A. McGregor. New York: National Council of the P. E. Church, 1930, pp. 69. \$25.

An account of the work and progress of the Anglican Church in India, by one who has the advantage of having taught in that country for some years, and hence knows India at first hand. He also has in mind the proposal which has been made that the American Church should share with the English in the missionary task in India today.

Reunion

The Equality of All Christians Before God. Int. by Peter Ainslie. Macmillan, 1930, pp. ix + 227. \$2.00.

This is a record of the New York Conference of the Christian Unity League held at St. George's Church, New York City, November 13-15, 1929. In view of the notoriety this Conference has received there are many who will be anxious to read the full record. One cannot help deploring the tactless way in which the relations of the Episcopal Church to other Protestant churches are handled from time to time; nor need one concede for a moment that the theological point of view prompting the actions which have repeatedly led to misunderstandings is really normative Anglicanism. But at the same time one wonders just what there is in much of contemporary American Protestantism to unite about. We believe it is *there*—i.e., some unifying principle; but only too rarely does it come to expression. The present book will not encourage one greatly in this direction—and least of all, perhaps, the contributions to it from liberal Anglicans. What the late Baron von Hügel taught us to recognize as "the institutional element in religion" is so desparately lacking!—That, and even the institutional *sense*, without which 'corporate' religion seems fantastic.

An Aid for Churchmen, Episcopal and Orthodox. By H. Henry Spoer. Milwaukee: Morehouse, 1930, pp. xi + 105. Illus. \$1.25.

Who of us, when assisting at the rites of the Orthodox, has not longed for a guide to make plain the very different *ethos* of their services? This is pre-

cisely the thing we have wanted—clear, concise, trustworthy, an interpretation toward mutual understanding. Not merely is the Divine Liturgy described; the Hours and the occasional offices likewise receive proper attention. The liturgical passages translated are taken from the Greek *Euchologion*, with incidental reference to Russian and other variants. A glossary and a bibliography add to the usefulness of the volume. In these days, when it is increasingly important that our people should be intelligently informed on the subject of Eastern Christianity, this book merits a wide sale and still wider reading.

P. V. N.

Community Religion and the Denominational Heritage. Ed. by J. R. Hargreaves. New York: Harpers, 1930, pp. vi + 150. Paper.

This little book has been compiled with the laudable purpose of acquainting the members of community churches in small villages with the religious backgrounds of the constituent groups and their possible contributions to the enrichment of community church life. Dr. Asworth writes for the Baptists, President Palmer for the Congregationalists, Dr. Garrison for the Disciples of Christ, Prof. W. W. Sweet for the Methodists, Prof. William Adams Brown for the Presbyterians. The principles of the Episcopal Church are interpreted by Dr. Howard Chandler Robbins. All these gentlemen are qualified to speak with authority in behalf of their respective denominations. Prof. J. T. McNeill contributes an enheartening essay on the transformation of Protestantism from a competitive to a coöperative magnitude. Dr. J. R. Hargreaves, secretary of the Home Missions Council, and editor of the volume, writes on unity methods in overchurched communities. Appendices contain some interesting recommendations by the Home Missions Council relative to community churches and their denominational relations. P. V. N.

Doctrine

Why I Am and Why I Am Not A Catholic. By Hilaire Belloc and others. Macmillan, 1930, pp. 246. \$2.00.

A popular statement of reasons for submitting to the Roman Church by Hilaire Belloc, Archbishop Goodier, Father Knox, Father Martindale, and Mrs. Sheila Kaye-Smith. The other side is represented by five essays entitled "Why I Am Not a Catholic," by Dr. Orchard, Principal J. W. Oman, Professors A. E. Taylor and H. L. Goudge, and the Lord Bishop of Gloucester.

There is an interesting sentence in Professor Taylor's article which is worth quoting: "For my part, I do not believe that it is usually the most catholic-minded among Anglicans who become converts to Rome, nor the most catholic-minded of Presbyterians or Congregationalists who become Anglicans."

The Principles of Theology. An Introduction to the Thirty Nine Articles. By W. H. Griffith-Thomas. Longmans, 1930, pp. lix + 540. \$4.25.

"This massive work," peculiarly needed "in these unsettling and reactionary days," according to an introducer, does what used to be much more frequently

done than in recent times—it covers Christian Theology on the basis of the Thirty Nine Articles. This entails a certain sacrifice of proportion; for while the fundamental doctrines of Christianity are treated, they are but slightly dealt with, in comparison with matters which were in controversy at the Reformation. It is argued that the Articles are not irenic at all but polemic, chiefly against Rome. So is this book, robustly orthodox where Protestantism had no controversy with Rome, aggressively Lutheran or Calvinist otherwise. Writings later than the World War are not used. As a general, all-round, systematic treatise of dogmatic theology, no one should depend on this book alone. As a forcibly argued exposition of the Anglican position from the Protestant point of view, no one should ignore it. M. B. S.

God and Man. By Hastings Rashdall. Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1930, pp. 264. 6/—.

Principal H. D. A. Major of Ripon Hall, Oxford, and Mr. F. L. Cross of Pusey House are continuing their useful service in editing the late Dean Rashdall's papers for publication. Two earlier volumes have already appeared, namely, *Principles and Prospects*, and *Ideas and Ideals*.

The present volume deals with questions of Theism, Religion and Ethics, and thus provides a number of papers subsidiary to his great work on the Atonement. The last chapter in the volume is a sermon on "The Greatest Need of the Church" which, to the Dean's mind, is simple love of truth. It is to be hoped that the rest of Rashdall's papers will be published in due course.

Die gegenwärtige Geisteslage und die "dialektische" Theologie. By D. Wilhelm Koepp. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1930, pp. vii + 104. M. 4.20.

Again the Barthians, this time presented as most closely related to the present spiritual situation. Confidence has been followed by disillusionment, and then by a grim insistence on actuality. The Dialectic Theology insists on the Actuality of Actualities, God, on the permanent qualitative difference between time and eternity, and on the Word as revealer of this difference. It is the present-time-form of the old Gospel; but it is also a new theology, and no theology from now on can ignore it. The author is strongly favorable on the whole, though he scorns Barth's "sacramental magic" and other catholicizing tendencies, and finds "dialectic" a far less genuine unity-principle of the movement than "crisis." There is a very welcome compendium of the personnel and bibliography of the movement. M. B. S.

Rechtfertigungslehre und Christusglaube: eine Untersuchung zur Systematik der Rechtfertigungslehre Luthers in ihren Anfängen. By Hans Joachim Iwand. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1930, pp. xvi + 128. M. 5.

Luther's early works, notably his commentary on *Romans*, are elaborately analysed and from them a close-knit theological system is reconstructed. The radical supernaturalism of his outlook, his overturning of all ordinary natural valuations of man, moral good and evil, knowledge and ignorance, in the light of belief in Christ and justification by faith only, stands out most clearly.

M. B. S.

The Reality of the Idea of God. By Tudor Jones. New York: Richard R. Smith, 1930, pp. 160. \$2.00.

In looking at nature and man, even as objectively as we can, we transmute them as we look, into concepts, ideas, ideals, a whole new world of mental, spiritual, metaphysical reality. Intellect does this, and so, in a different and deeper way, does feeling. All our spiritual world leads us on ever higher and farther from mere physical fact, to the nature of God. This process has certainly served us well in dealing with lower grades of existence—it is not illusory there, and we cannot believe it to be illusory when it reaches far above our ordinary lives and becomes eternal life, with eternal values. In other words, this book is a very serious plea for idealism and the cosmic mysticism that goes with it. The case is sometimes weakened by such a claim as this: "The only other alternative [to measuring the cosmic experience] is to admit that the experience is what it is. If so, the reality of an Unseen Spirit is established" (p. 134). M. B. S.

Ventures in Belief. Ed. by Henry P. Van Dusen. New York: Scribners, 1930, pp. vii + 242. \$2.00.

The editor has persuaded twelve of the most popular religious writers of to-day to collaborate in this small book with chapters on what each believes about the great realities of religion. Naturally, no treatment is exhaustive, but each is a vigorous encouragement to faith. The feature common to all the writers is that faith is a venture of life rather than a set of beliefs. It should be of real value to college students who are morally earnest and are seeking a way to justify a religious attitude. D. A. M.

History of Religions

Der Ursprung der Magier und die Zarathuſtrische Religion. By Giuseppe Messina. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1930, pp. 102. L. 17.

According to Father Messina the Magi came in contact with the Babylonians some time in the fourth century B.C., probably after the conquest of Cyrus. In the teaching of Zarathustra one must clearly distinguish the religious side from the purely social. Since the Magi are described as "partakers of the religion" of Zarathustra and since there is evidence for the existence of their group long before Darius, it seems necessary to date Zarathustra considerably earlier.

Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte. Ed. by Hans Haas. Leipzig: Deichert.

Lfgn. 13-14. *Die Religion der Griechen.* 80 plates, 208 ills., Int. by Andr. Rumpf. 1928. M. 17.50.

Lfg. 15. *Die Religion des Mithra.* 23 pl., 50 ills., Int. by J. Leipoldt. 1930. M. 6.80.

Lfg. 16. *Mexikanische Religion.* 21 pl., 73 ills., Int. by K. T. Preuss. 1930. M. 6.80.

Haas' *Bilderatlas* gives in handy compass the wide range of material, much of it difficult of access, for the study of the archaeological monuments and remains of the various religions. The installment on Greek Religion is especially noteworthy, while the one following, on Mithraism, will be very useful in the study of that early rival of Christianity. The relatively small amount of German text will make the volumes usable even by students who unfortunately know little or nothing of that language.

Die orientalischen Religionen im hellenistisch-römischen Zeitalter. By Hugo Gressmann. Leipzig: de Gruyter, 1930, pp. 179.

Professor Gressmann's lectures on 'The Oriental Religions in the Hellenistic-Roman Period' were published nearly three years after his lamented death. They were delivered in 1923, and have been rescued from oblivion by a relative who deciphered the antiquated stenography of the MS. They are finely illustrated and afford a good popular introduction to the subject. One may question some of his statements (*e.g.*, p. 12: "The good Gods . . . have no cult." Or p. 13: "Mystery knowledge is *Gnosis*, *i.e.*, knowledge arrived at through vision, sacraments, and deification"—a much too simple definition); at the same time he does give an excellent sketch of this whole vastly interesting field.

Religionsgeschichtliche Lesebuch. Ed. by Alfred Bertholet. 2d edition. Tübingen: Mohr, 1930.

14. *Der Hinduismus.* By F. Otto Schrader. Pp. vii + 87. M. 4.20.

15. *Der Mahāyāna-Buddismus.* By Moritz Winternitz. Pp. vi + 88. M. 4.

The selection of materials and the editing of these handy little volumes are alike the work of experts, and will be useful even to teachers of History of Religion in English.

Egyptian Civilization, Its Sumerian Origin and Real Chronology and Sumerian Origin of Egyptian Hieroglyphs. By L. A. Waddell. London: Luzac & Co., 1930, pp. xx + 223. 12 s. 6d.

Sargon of Agade, his father and grandfather were pre-dynastic Pharaohs; Manis-Tissu, Sargon's son and crown prince, after having served as viceroy on the Indus, where he was known as Manasyu, revolted, united Egypt and established the first dynasty. As a great sea-lord he travelled widely; in Crete, *e.g.*, he is known to history as Minos. His voyages carried him into the Atlantic, to Britain and Erin; in the latter place he died of a wasp-bite and was buried in County Tyrone. His son, known as Narmar in Egypt, as Naram Sin in Mesopotamia, succeeded to his empire, extending from the Indus to Britain. Truly Sargon did not use extravagant language when he termed himself "King of the Four Quarters of the World!" If we can accept these assertions of the author, disregarding a seven-hundred years chronological difference, Sargon's lack of genealogy, and that he was a Semite not a Sumerian, along with many other commonly held views, we shall have no diffi-

culty in giving our assent to the author's thesis as set forth in the title of the book. Some will, perhaps, find it easier to accept the historicity of "Alice."

F. H. H.

Judaism

History of Jewish Literature. From the Close of the Bible to Our Own Days. By Meyer Waxman. Volume I: *From the Close of the Canon to the End of the 12th Century.* New York: Bloch, 1930, pp. xvi + 500. \$3.50.

An excellent introductory work which, dealing as it does with the earlier period, covers the literature closest to the New Testament. It begins in fact with the Apocrypha and Apocalyptic literature. Most of the volume, however, will cover a terra incognita to Christians, the Jewish literature of the Middle Ages, which, however, is receiving increasing attention at the present day.

Seven Minor Treatises: Sefer Torah; Mezuzah; Tefillin; Zisit; 'Abadim; Kutim; Gerim; and Treatise Soferim II. Ed. by Michael Higger. New York: Bloch, 1930, pp. 56 (English) + 87 (Hebrew).

A critical Hebrew text, and a readable English translation (the first in our language) of these 'Minor Treatises.'

Religion in a Changing World. By Abba Hillel Silver. New York: Smith, 1930, pp. 204. \$2.00.

An excellent example of modern liberal Jewish preaching, with a strong social strain, and face to face with the problems of modern life in America at the present day.

Philosophy of Religion

Philosophy of Value: An Essay in Constructive Criticism. By Leo Richard Ward. Macmillan, 1930, pp. 263. \$2.25.

The luxuriant modern growth of value-philosophy (an enormous bibliography is furnished) is appraised by a brilliant writer of the scholastic persuasion. Scholastics and moderns notoriously have difficulties in understanding each other; the present book is one of the best of its kind. The author justly faults many moderns for exceeding looseness of definition and for circularity of argument. He is particularly opposed to the subjectivist view, that value is simply the valuer's valuation. On the basis of our everyday experience in going after the things we want, the common-sense datum, which turns out to be just what St. Thomas said, value is defined as the capacity of an existent to be an object of appetition. Quite objective; but the "existent" may be only a conceptual, unreal thing. And the value-relation is not completed in reaching the object outside; the object is appropriated, and so the self is more ultimate than the external object. God is the ultimate value, as he is the perfect existent. The book is, we think, not conclusive, but a very useful step toward clarity in a subject that badly needs it. M. B. S.

The Significance of Personality. By Richard M. Vaughan. Macmillan, 1930, pp. 302. \$2.50.

This book offers nothing in the way of exposition of personality itself; rather it presents the whole field of Christian belief and ethics from the point of view of personal idealism. Personality is the master-key to the interpretation of everything, man, God, nature, Christ, salvation, sacraments, society, death and immortality. The ultimate reality of the universe is like Christ—that is the fundamental Christian thesis; and every detail must be related to that. The work is done with care and thoroughness, using material that is not new or fashionable; and the result is not a surprise, but a reinforcement.

M. B. S.

God and Intelligence in Modern Philosophy. A Critical Study in the Light of the Philosophy of Saint Thomas. By Fulton J. Sheen. Longmans, Green & Co., 1930, pp. xv + 295. \$4.00.

A reprint of the (first) edition of 1925. The book has achieved high distinction, and well deserves a reprinting. M. B. S.

The Field of Philosophy. By Joseph A. Leighton. Fourth edition. New York: Appleton, 1930, pp. xii + 639. \$3.50.

Professor Leighton has published a new edition of his well-known work on the Introduction to Philosophy. The volume was first published in 1923, parts of it having appeared earlier, if we mistake not, as articles in journals. The initial advantage which Professor Leighton's book enjoys is its combination of the topical and the historical. Part I deals with the chief problems and stand-points of Greek and mediaeval philosophy; Part II with modern philosophy, including the various phases of contemporary thought; Part III presents "an outline of the chief problems of Constructive Philosophy," that is, "Mechanism, Individuality, and Teleology; the Self; the Status of Values; Singularism and Pluralism; Ethics and Social Philosophy; the Philosophy of History; Epistemology; the Criteria of Truth; Other Philosophical Disciplines, including the Philosophy of Religion; Progress in Philosophy; Philosophy at the Crisis in Civilization."

The book thus covers an immense field and in some parts does little more than suggest the general outline of the position under consideration. However, that is all an introductory book is expected to do, and it must be added that Professor Leighton's book ranks among the very best of introductory textbooks.

Behaviorism, A Battle-Line. Ed. by William P. King. Nashville: Cokesbury Press, 1930, pp. 376. \$2.25.

This book does not set out to be an exposition of Behaviorism, but is rather a volley of criticism of that school; the sub-title of the book is "A Battle-Line." Nor is it a discussion of this new psychological doctrine, although some of the writers admit the propriety of the behavioristic method. It is a denunciation, and it is well done. D. A. M.

Pastoral Theology

Building Family Foundations. By Harold Holt. Milwaukee: Morehouse, 1930, pp. vii + 85. \$1.00 (paper \$.65).

This is a book which Mr. Holt has prepared for the use of study groups and others, and contains a mass of material relating to the problems of family life at the present day. The titles of chapters range from "Family Economics and Budgets" to "Sex Education" and "Child Training." As Bishop Perry says in his introduction, "The Church by teaching the sacramental character of marriage brings to an otherwise chaotic world the only possible, because the ideal, solution."

The English Parish Church. By A. R. Powis. New York: Longmans, 1930, pp. xix + 165. \$1.40.

The series of little volumes, "The English Heritage," contains some excellent works. The present one is a first-class guide to the architecture and history of the English parish church. Of special value to the ordinary reader is a series of sketches showing the development of the same parish church from the Norman down through the later periods to 1500. Every one who loves and prizes the English country churches will be interested in this volume. The author is a thoroughly competent interpreter of his subject.

An Altar Guild Manual. By Edith Weir Perry. Providence, R. I.: Diocesan Altar Guild, 32 Westminster St., 1930, pp. xi + 60. \$.75.

This little manual covers all the ordinary needs of altar guilds for information and direction, and is a book to be widely recommended and used. An added point of interest is the fact that the author is the wife of the Presiding Bishop.

Women and Priesthood. Longmans, Green & Co., 1930, pp. 38.

A pamphlet containing the memorandum on the subject addressed to the Lambeth Conference of 1930. It contains five appendices, on Deaconesses, on Preaching and Teaching by Women, on Women and the Free Church Ministry, on The Protestant Churches on the Continent, and on Frustrated Vocation—the last a long series of extracts from letters by women who have felt the call to the Sacred Ministry, but have been prevented from pursuing their vocation and responding to the call through canonical disabilities. One sincerely hopes that a way will be found whereby such women may exercise to the full their vocation and taste the joys of a ministry fulfilled; whether or not this is to be in one of the "three orders" recognized in the Anglican Church is another question. *A priori*, there seems no objection; practically, there are many difficulties in the way.

Our Expanding Church. By James Thayer Addison. New York: National Council of the P. E. Church, 1930, pp. ix + 117. \$.25.

A new textbook on the mission work of the Church, written by a scholar thoroughly familiar with the subject; it presents the need forcefully and at the

same time intelligently. It is earnestly to be hoped that missionary literature from now on will adopt this new standard. So much utter trash has been produced as 'missionary literature,' heretofore—not chiefly, perhaps, by "281," but often enough to justify complaint!

The Social Teaching of the Church. By W. R. Inge. Abingdon Press, 1930, pp. 111. \$1.00.

Dean Inge's Lecture was delivered before the Wesleyan Methodist Conference in England this year on the foundation established by Mr. J. H. Beckly. Although it anticipates his more recent work, *Christian Ethics and Modern Problems*, it is nevertheless an independent study. It is divided into six chapters or sections, each of which is worthy of discussion. One point emphatically stressed in the book is the bearing of Christian principles upon consumption rather than distribution. It is no business of the Church to advocate new methods of distribution of wealth. It is most emphatically its business to insist upon a Christian attitude toward consumption. This is, of course, in line with Inge's general position, which is individualistic and ascetic in tendency; but it is also a position that is openly ignored by the Church today and deserves much more emphasis.

A Parson's Dilemmas. By T. W. Pym. Morehouse, 1930, pp. 126. \$1.50.

These six lectures to ordination candidates at the University of Cambridge are full of value for American theological students and clergy. Here as in England, "the atmosphere with which those who enter the ministry today must be prepared to compete" is "an atmosphere of indifference to spiritual things," and the author, whether discussing ethical problems, preaching, methods of teaching, spiritual direction of the individual, or carrying the gospel to "those outside," has always in mind that competition. As in his earlier book, *Spiritual Direction*, one finds freshness of treatment without eccentricity, and the methods of his effective ministry persuasively set forth with no suggestion that they are the only effective methods. Parsons actually confronted with the dilemmas of the ministry, as well as seminarians looking forward to them, will here find real help. N. B. N.

Introduction to Rural Sociology. By Charles Russell Hoffer. New York: Smith, 1930, pp. ix + 418. \$2.50.

An interesting-looking textbook covering Rural Population and its Characteristics, Rural Social Institutions, and Rural Social Organization. These are the facts with which everyone concerned with the rural Church should acquaint himself.

Our Economic Morality. By Harry F. Ward. Macmillan, 1929, pp. ix + 329. \$2.50.

The thought on economic questions of most people today, according to Dr. Ward, is conditioned by the economic development of the last century. Most

of us are so deeply immersed in a world determined by economic considerations that we are blind to the innumerable ways in which our so-called Christian civilization runs directly counter to the spirit of the teachings of Christ. This book is a study of the historical and philosophical background of "our economic morality" and of its failure not only to provide a framework in which the Christian virtues can be practiced, but even to meet the practical economic needs which it is supposed to be able to meet.

The last chapter of the book points out some of the things which would be involved in a whole-hearted attempt to apply the spirit of Christ to present-day economic questions. It is a most suggestive and stimulating book. c. l. s.

The Prayer Book Reason Why. By Nelson R. Boss. New edition by Marshall M. Day. Milwaukee: Morehouse, 1930, pp. ix + 210. \$90.

The Prayer Book Reason Why has for a long time been a widely useful manual of church teaching. The new edition was made necessary by the revision of the Prayer Book in 1928. The new edition is attractively printed and bound. A paper-covered issue is to be had at forty-five cents.

The Church and the Bible. By H. L. Goudge. New York: Longmans, 1930, pp. ix + 118. \$1.35.

Canon Goudge has contributed a volume to the series "The Anglican Library of Faith and Thought" which deals with the relation between the Church and the Bible. The book will be valuable to persons who are quite familiar with the Old and New Testaments, and who are moving forward from the traditional view of the Bible to a more modern position. It may not be quite so valuable to those who have been brought up on the modern critical point of view.

The American Psalter. The Psalms and Canticles . . . Pointed and Set to Anglican Chants, Together with the Choral Service. Prepared by the Joint Commission on Church Music. New York: H. W. Gray Co., 1930, pp. xiii + 256. \$2.00; sample copy \$1.00.

I dare say that the new *American Psalter*, prepared by the Joint Commission on Church Music, is the nearest approach to 'psalterian' perfection that the musical and ecclesiastical world has yet seen, and will, in all probability, be the standard for some years to come. It is a decided advance over its elder twin, *The Cathedral Psalter*.

Its outstanding virtue is the return to a principle which has slipped through the centuries in almost total obscurity, insofar as psalters were concerned, namely, the rhythm of words. The old plainsong, that mistreated child of St. Gregory the Great, is the only music that has ever successfully brought out the beauties of unmetrical verse; the editors have adopted its principle and have made it the cornerstone of their work. The *modus operandi* is clearly and painstakingly set forth in the Preface, but of course all organists and choirmasters are not expected to leave their time-worn ruts to follow a new system.

The versicles and responses are so tantalizingly like the plain-song setting that anyone accustomed to it will not like the new dip (accent) on 'thou,' 'forth,' 'Ho-,' etc. It seems as if the editors simply had to change something to prove their worth—at least they were consistent in what they did. Lest the 'contemporaries' of Thomas Tallis complain, his harmonization of the versicles and responses have been inserted. All the canticles for both Morning and Evening Prayer, including the Invitatory Antiphons (something strange to most of us), with the newly sanctioned Benedictus Es given its rightful, hard-earned place; the Psalter proper and Occasional Anthems follow in order. The various 'tables' are added, but they will probably never be used. There is an index of chants, listed according to composer. There are a few new tunes—some are good. The printing is excellent and the arrangement leaves little if anything to be desired. We recommend the book most heartily and congratulate the editors on what we deem to be a very successful and useful piece of work. J. W. K.

Collective Works

The Church. Milwaukee: Morehouse, 1930, pp. xxii + 214. \$2.50.

This volume contains the report of the 1930 Anglo-Catholic Congress held in London. Arranged under the general subject of "The Church," the papers deal with the unity of the Church, its holiness, its catholicity, and its apostolicity, thus covering the four "notes."

These papers are followed by a series of instructions which were given at the Congress on the subjects of Confession, Holy Communion, Prayer, and Retreats. Several papers appear in the appendix under the titles "Men and the Church," "Women and the Church," and "The Church Overseas."

The Body of Christ. Milwaukee: Morehouse, 1930, pp. 112. \$1.75 (paper \$1.00).

This little volume contains the papers read at the Fifth Catholic Congress held in Buffalo in October. The subjects are "Christ, the Head of the Body," "The Holy Spirit, the Life of the Body," "The Priesthood and the Body of Christ," "The Scriptures," "The Eucharist," "The Faith," and "The Moral Witness of the Body of Christ."

Greatest Thoughts of Immortality. By Jacob Helder. New York: Smith, 1930, pp. xxv + 183. \$2.00.

Dr. Helder who was formerly Professor of Philosophy at Mount Union College, has gathered these "Thoughts" from personal letters and various other sources. The letters are from Protestant and Roman Catholic clergy, outstanding representatives of Judaism, authorities in theology and the philosophy of religion, distinguished philosophers, psychologists, scientists, educators, and authors.

These are supplemented with a group of negative affirmations taken from books and other sources, and the volume closes with a large collection of affirmative quotations. The book is nothing if not "quotable," and is probably

a fairly representative collection of statements chiefly from contemporary writers.

Charleston Papers. Edited by Harold A. Prichard. New York: Smith, 1930, pp. x + 220. \$2.50.

The 56th Church Congress was held in Charleston last year and although fairly well reported in the papers, a great many people will wish to have copies of the printed volume.

The subjects dealt with were "The Church's Position on Marriage and Re-marriage," "The Holy Communion," "Authority in Religion and Morals," "Is Episcopal Ordination an Obstacle to Church Unity?", "Can We Still Believe in Providence?", "Should the Church Be Organized for Social Work?", and "Christian Universalism *versus* the Nationalistic State."

It will be seen that the Church Congress covers a wide range of subjects. Variety in viewpoint is further guaranteed by the appointment of two or more speakers to every subject. Some of the most vigorous thinking of the Church finds expression in these Church Congress papers.

Problems of Personal Life. "The Modern Churchman," August, September, October, 1930. Edited by H. D. A. Major. Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1930. 3/6.

The papers read at the 17th Annual Conference of Modern Churchmen at Oxford in August of last year were on the general subject covered by the title. Dean Inge began with a Presidential Address on "The Modern Outlook in Ethics" in which he described, with his usual clarity and vigor, the general situation in which we find ourselves to-day.

Other papers deal with "The Disintegration of Morality," "The Nature of Man," "The Christian Moral Outlook," "Christian Marriage," "Social Aspects of Birth Control," "Eugenics and Population," "The Acquisition and Expenditure of Money," "The Ethics of Gambling," and an extraordinary paper by the Dean of Manchester, "The Claims of Beauty in Modern Life." The collected papers form a volume which every one interested in the application of Christian principles to social life should carefully examine.

Religion, the Dynamic of Education, a Symposium on Religious Education. Edited by Walter M. Howlett. Harper & Brothers, 1929, pp. xi + 172. \$1.50.

This is a symposium on the place of religion in education, with contributions from eleven leaders in the field of religious education, among them Dean Weigle of the School of Religion of Yale University, the Rev. J. W. Suter of the Department of Religious Education of the Episcopal Church, and Miss Adelaide T. Case of Columbia University.

Two things that stand out in the essays as particularly significant are (1) the steadily increasing interest in religious education on the part of educators generally, and (2) the increasing realization of the importance of worship on the part of people interested in religious education. C. L. S.

Sammlung Gemeinverständliche Vorträge. Tübingen: Mohr, 1930.

28. *Historie und Metahistorie in der Kirchengeschichte.* By Walther Köhler. Pp. 36. M. 1.50.

146. *Tod und Unsterblichkeit im Glauben der Naturvölker.* By K. T. Preuss. Pp. 36. M. 1.50.

148. *Der Wortgottesdienst der Ältesten Christen.* By Walter Bauer. Pp. 64. M. 1.80.

149. *Asketische Heimatlosigkeit.* By Hans von Campenhausen. Pp. 31. M. 1.50.

150. *Adolf von Harnack.* By Erich Seeberg. Pp. 28. M. 1.880.

Popular lectures in the history and philosophy of religion, and a memorial eulogy of Professor von Harnack in which he is rightly praised and appraised as the great leader of modern German Liberal Protestantism.

Orient und Occident. Der Russische Geist im Kampf um Seine Existenz und der Protestantismus. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1930, pp. 96. M. 5.

These "pages for theology and sociology" of which this is the fourth installment represent a characteristic rapprochement between German and Russian theologians. The first article in the present number is by G. G. Kullmann, a contributor to this REVIEW.

He writes on the state of belief in God in Russia at the present time, and believes the Russian Orthodox Church to be still very much alive under the surface in Russia to-day.

Sermons

A Faith That Works. By Edward S. Woods. New York: Smith, 1930, pp. 224. \$2.00.

The Bishop of Croydon is intensely interested in "every-day religion." He sees the problems that confront us and the need for interpreting and applying the Christian religion. He sees how closely we are knit together in the industrial and commercial fabric of the present-day, and he sees the difficulties in the way of direct application of Christianity.

The book is a vigorous and stimulating collection of papers written from a high point of view.

His Glorious Body. By Robert Norwood. Scribner's 1930, pp. xx + 229. \$2.00.

A series of twenty-two Lenten meditations by the rector of St. Bartholomew's. A more descriptive title would be, perhaps, "The Challenge of the Resurrection"; the author expresses his belief in it as a fact and, consequently, our own resurrection in the strongest terms. The theologian may lament an occasional expression, as the assertion of the eternal existence of the soul and, still more, the generally Manichæan attitude towards the body; but, after all, the addresses were not delivered for theologians or the book written with them in mind. To the average reader it will be most helpful as, no doubt, the medita-

tions were to those who first heard them. In days of evasions of straightforward statement, of explanations which only serve to darken understanding, we crave more frequent utterances expressed in terms such as these which leave no uncertainty as to the speaker's own faith, and carry with them convincing power persuasively set forth. F. H. H.

Pilgrims Progress in the World To-day. By H. F. B. Mackay. Morehouse Publishing Co., 1930, pp. 175. \$1.50.

The author loves and knows Bunyan's famous classic, and follows its general scheme closely, devoting the first part to the pilgrimage of Christian and the second to that of his wife, but the modern story is much briefer.

Bunyan was a Puritan and Mr. Mackay is a Catholic. They are alike in their austerity, but quite different in their conceptions of what stands in the way of the Christian's pilgrimage. Mr. Mackay's outlook is sufficiently disclosed in the appeal with which he closes one of his chapters: "Reader, pray that the inspiration of Catholic Christianity may yet deliver the English nation from the grasp of Giant Maul." L. W. B.

God and Ourselves. By E. J. Bodington. Longmans, 1930, pp. 95.

A little volume of addresses delivered chiefly at Quiet Days for Clergy.

Evolution and Redemption. By Walter J. Carey. Milwaukee: Morehouse, 1930, pp. vii + 56. \$60.

A characteristic little book by Bishop Carey, in which scientific views are not simply treated from an apologetic standpoint but their real contribution to Christian living is emphasized.

Anthologies

Beyond. Edited by Sherman Ripley. New York: Appleton, 1930, pp. xxiv + 171. \$2.50.

The volume before us is an "Anthology of Immortality" and it is dedicated to:

The Poets, who seek Beauty
The Bereaved, who seek Comfort
The Philosophers, who see Truth.

The author explains that his original intention was to include only British and American poets, but upon good advice he extended the plan to include the poets of the past ages and other poets of the modern world; and so we have part of a dialogue from Euripides' "Trojan Women" following a quotation of Gladys Shaw Erskine and not far removed from A. E. Housman's "To an Athlete Dying Young."

It is a very fine collection and will be of real value to many persons besides the homilist and preacher. Some of the poems are difficult of access; for instance, there are five pages of selections from Sir Richard Burton's "Kasidah."

The Master of Men. Compiled by Thomas Curtis Clark. New York: Smith, 1930, pp. 243. \$2.00.

Preachers sometimes fail to realize how much an appropriate poem adds to a sermon, or how it adds to the effectiveness of one of the points within a sermon. One reason for this failure to realize how much poetry means to the people in the pews may be the parson's own unfamiliarity with the accumulated treasures upon which he might draw. There are a number of good anthologies which would help him overcome this difficulty, and more of them are appearing every year.

The present collection, compiled by one who himself reveals no weak pen in the pages of the *Christian Century* and elsewhere, is a selection from all modern and contemporary literature. The poems are selected to illustrate the following themes: Christ Triumphant; The Way of the Cross; Easter Day; The Continuing Christ; A Crusader for Christ. It is really surprising, when you think of it, how much of contemporary *poetry* swings about Christian faith, despite the popularity of other types of literature devoted to a photographic and clinical realism. Only faith can create song; doubt does not sing itself into verse; and so very naturally we find that among the poetic productions of today are not a few, devoted to the life and character of our Lord, which bid fair to be permanent.

Miscellaneous

The Asiatic Arcadia. ("Paradise Lost.") By Philo Laos Mills. Washington: The Bengalese Press, 1931, pp. xxviii + 293.

A work of much learning based upon extensive reading, written by a Roman Catholic Indian, and designed to prove that the Garden of Eden, the cradle of the human race, was located in middle Asia. Its point of view comes out in such a caption as that on p. 112, where Clement of Rome is described as "Supreme Pontiff." The work is in fact mainly a catena of quotations designed to prove the author's thesis.

Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Second edition. Edited by H. Gunkel and L. Zscharnack. Lfgn. 77-90. Tübingen: Mohr, 1930. M. 1.80 each.

The new *RGG* pursues its steady course toward completion. Volume iv is now complete; Volume v will be complete by the end of 1931.

The numbers listed above carry us from the word *Niederlande* to the word *Ramin* and include the important articles *Offenbarung*, *Origenes*, *Orthodox Eastern Church*, *Phenomenalism*, *Philosophie*, *Paulus*, *Predigt*, *Priestertum*, *Propheten*, *Protestantismus*, *Psalmen*, *Pseudepigraphen*, and *Quakers*.

A Fighting Parson. The Autobiography of Alexander Irvine. Boston: Little Brown & Co., 1930, pp. xi + 289. \$3.00.

Any biography is interesting in which a poor boy slowly carves out a career; but when in addition, the poor boy fights in the Royal Marines, drives a milk cart, runs a Bowery Mission, goes to Yale, and breasts various clerical storms

before settling down—yet surely Irvine *never* settled down!—as a lecturer, we have an extremely entertaining book. Mr. Irvine's personal magnetism, his oratory and his humor made him an invaluable supporter of morale for more than two years at the front and later among the discouraged people in the English coal fields.

One regrets that he could not have worked more easily with other people so that his great talents might have been constantly in use, yet in reading of many people as stupid as the Irish clergyman who gave a book as a Sunday School prize to the ragged little fellow who could not read and who had timidly asked for some clothes, one feels that much of Irvine's irritation was justified. Egotistic as he may have been, surely American and English social life has lost something of real value in not being able to find a place for such energy and force and upright convictions as his. H. M. G.

Rock and Sand. By John Rathbone Oliver. New York: Macmillan, 1930. pp. xxiv + 524. \$2.50.

Dr. Oliver will need to get out a new edition of his *Four Square*, with a new title in order to find a place for a fifth occupation, for if he keeps on producing good books, his place as a writer will overshadow his reputation in other fields. In *Fear* we have really a medical book under the form of a novel; in *Rock and Sand* we have a novel pure and simple. It is indeed possible to interpret the book, as the author may have intended, as a sermon on the text prefixed to the story (St. Mt. 7: 24-26), from which the title is taken, but 524 pages is over long for a sermon, and the reader is certain to find his interest in the story and the characters.

It is a novel, and a very good one too. The scene is laid in French Canada, and the characters are Canucks with a few Americans and English interspersed.

L. W. B.

Saturday Afternoon. By Marion Strobels. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1930. pp. v + 279. \$2.50.

One is swept along the stream of this swiftly moving story, from one fascinating little scene to another, until, like a dash of icy spray in one's face, there comes the final tragedy, as abrupt, perhaps, and as provocative of a gasp of unbelief as a tragedy of everyday life. Then the author bids one farewell, a trifle nonchalantly, considering her clear and bitter exposé of the triviality of the beneficiaries for whom Susannah's last great sacrifice was made.

The Star Supplement is a delightful piece of foolery, except for the article of Harriet Monroe's, which misses the point entirely and comments on Marion Strobels' book rather than on the imagined volume of Susannah's poems. Surely the proof reader for so clever a piece of advertising should have caught that.

And though we have hopes of what future Aprils may bring forth, we have never in any previous ones discovered in the Italian Court or elsewhere the blue nasturtiums which so delighted Stephen's artistic soul and so exactly matched his eyes. H. M. G.